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ABSTRACT

As part of a four-college project to integrate the religious tradition with humanities teaching, humanism is discussed from a Christian perspective. Definitions of the terms humanism, religion, Christianity, and Christian humanism are provided. The latter is viewed as the issues surrounding the Christian approach to the dichotomy of good and evil and the condition of being human. An introductory historical survey of Christian humanism traces this ideology from its origins in Protestantism and Catholicism, through conflict with secularization, and into the context of education, specifically modern higher education. Losses and gains of Christian humanism in the twentieth century are outlined, looking at the varied American religious scene, changes within each group, and academic versus grassroots theology. It is concluded that at the heart of the current dilemma faced by Christian humanists are the separation between Christianity and culture, or secular life, and a related ignorance of the tradition of Christian humanism. Specialization in higher education curriculum is seen as a prime example of this separation. Literature appropriate to the academic study of this tradition is suggested. In addition to this literature, a new approach to the teaching of Christian history is recommended to bridge the existing gap between secular and religious history instruction and to emphasize the continuity of the tradition of Christian humanism from early times to the present. Appended is an article by R. W. Franklin, "The NEH Christian Humanism Project at Saint John's, Collegeville." (MSE)

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HUMANISM: A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

I. Introduction

Definition of Terms

A. Humanism

Humanism is clearly a word with a "good" or positive meaning as we normally use it. It is a word which denotes both a tradition from the past and an ideal for the present and the future. It would be warmly embraced by virtually everyone, by persons of the most widely varying world-views, religious and professedly non-religious. Indeed, it may not be an exclusively western ideal, but a universal one.

Essentially, humanism involves a reverence for mankind and a concern for its dignity, a positive appreciation of human life, individual and collective. It emphasizes the potentialities and abilities of mankind, the power of the unique rational faculty, the free will, and the affective creative gift of the individual, and of all those results of human endeavor which we call "culture." Roger Shinn has written:

"Humanism is the appreciation of man and of the values, real and potential, in human life. It esteems man--not as an animal, a machine, or an angel, but as man. It is concerned with the agonies and triumphs of the human spirit, not in any racial or religious or intellectual elite, but in the whole range of history and experience."¹

B. Religion

The term "religion" is a very elastic term. Much has been written in attempt to define it. Arguments rage as to whether it necessarily involves a transcendent element. We shall not debate that point here. Many have asserted that religion is not only unique to mankind ("the only animal that prays"), but also that

¹ R. Shinn, Man: The New Humanism, New Directions in Theology Today, Vol. VI, Westminster, Philadelphia, 1968, p. 24.

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it is, in one form or another, universal among human beings. Arnold Toynbee, for example, in An Historian's Approach to Religion, wrote:

"Religion is an essential element in human life which cannot ever be ignored or repressed for very long at a time."

Influential theologians like Freidrich Schleiermacher in the 19th century and Paul Tillich in our own time have also asserted its universality. Tillich stated:

"In some way and on some level, every human being is longing for a new reality in contrast to the distorted reality in which he is living. People are not outside of God; they are grasped by God on the level in which they can be grasped--in their experience of the Divine, in the realm of holiness in which they are living, in which they are educated, in which they have performed acts of faith and adoration and prayer and cult. . ."¹

Others have strongly disputed the universality of religion. Much depends upon how the term is defined. We shall not enter this semantic argument. Indeed, because the term is so variously used, we shall avoid it as much as possible. However, we would contend that there is a positive relationship between religion and humanism, that religion (as the term is most commonly used) has traditionally functioned to emphasize the dignity of mankind.

C. Christianity

Certain problems arise as we move from the general category of religion to the more specific one of Christianity. Some Christian theologians (notably Karl Barth and other Neo-Orthodox thinkers) have argued that there is a radical discontinuity between "religion" and "Christian faith". (Cf. also Dietrich Bonhoeffer's "religionless Christianity"). One of the sharpest debates in 20th century theology has raged over this point. This is a question which would perforce be discussed in our courses, but we need not deal with it in detail here. "Christian faith" is itself

¹P. Tillich, "Missions and World History", in The Theology of the Christian Mission, ed. G.H. Anderson, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1961, pp. 286-287.

an expression which has been used in two very different ways. Both are too narrow for our purposes. On the one view, faith is understood as the relationship between the human individual and God. This is ultimately "inner", and therefore inaccessible to empirical study. On the other view, the term "the faith" is used to denote a certain cognitive content which is accepted by the believer, in short a certain theology. Theology, which may be defined as "human thinking about God and related subjects" is also too narrow for our purposes.

We prefer to speak of "Humanism from a Christian Perspective". We want to designate a particular religious tradition, one which has been predominant in the Western world, and the one represented by all four of our colleges. We also wish to include all of the phenomena of that tradition (theology, worship, ethics) as they are empirically observable and as they make an impact upon the wider culture. In this connection, Christianity is in a paradoxical position: on the one hand, its phenomena are surely a part of the culture in which it exists. At the same time, in its alleged transcendent element (in terms of Christian theology, "revelation"), it claims to speak a word from beyond the culture on behalf of God.

It is our contention that in the history of western civilization, humanism cannot be properly understood or appreciated apart from the Christian tradition. Drawing on the Bible as inspiration, and manifested through the Church, this tradition has made a unique contribution to western humanism. Some would claim that even atheistic humanism grows out of the Biblical tradition. Moreover, we contend that it offers indispensable insights and guidelines for living in the coming age of limitation.

D. Christian Humanism

What is it to be human, according to the Christian tradition? First, there is a certain "given" quality to humanity. Human beings are naturally human in that

they are created as distinctive beings by the One God. Creation "in the image of God" (Gen. 1) means the ability to know God and to be known by Him. (Sometimes the rational faculty has been emphasized here.) At the same time, the Biblical view is that not all people at all times acknowledge their creatureliness and responsibility to the Creator. This failure is what the Bible writers call "sin". In the Christian view, Jesus of Nazareth was sent by the Creator not only to be an example of true humanity (the only one who fully realized the human ideal), but also by his life, death and resurrection to reconcile the rebellious race to God, and to inspire others to live as he lived, a life of love to God and ones fellow-creatures. Thus human-ness becomes not only something in part "given" to us in creation, but also a program, an ideal, a goal to be striven for as long as we live, and never fully or finally to be achieved in this life. In theological terms, to be human is the result of creation, of redemption, and of sanctification. It derives both from "nature" and from "grace". It is achieved by a combination of the work of God and of man.

There is a certain tension in this dichotomy, because of the presence of evil in the world. Evil is inexplicable, but it is real. It seems not to be entirely avoidable in this life, and moreover we are the ones responsible for it. As Walt Kelly's Pogo so aptly said, "We have met the enemy, and he is us". The naturally human is repeatedly corrupted by our own wills and actions. This is the meaning of the myth of the "fall" in Genesis 3.

The tension between what is and what ought to be, between what is given and what is to be striven for, is a constant in Christian theology. From the standpoint of the individual, it can be traced in the history of the relationship in Christian thinking between reason and faith. From the standpoint of the collective, the problem is posed in terms of the relationship between Christ and culture. We shall later deal with both of these ways of putting the question.

E. Christian Humanism: An Introductory Historical Survey

Historically, Christian humanism has been the main ideological stream in western civilization. It is firmly rooted in the theology of the Bible, and despite challenges at various times in the history of western thought, it continues to inform (consciously or unconsciously) the western mind. Moreover, it has provided the main impetus for the exporting of western thought throughout the world.

Christian humanism is fundamental to the Biblical account of the origins of all things. In the creation story, the chief point, stated in mythological language, is that there is one God, and that all things derive from His creative action. Mankind is created "in the image of God", i. e. with a capacity for a unique knowledge of and relationship with this one God. (Genesis 1-2). Moreover, all mankind are brothers and sisters. Despite a perverse tendency to rebel against God and to alienate ourselves from one another (Gen. 3), the dignity of mankind and its responsibility to its creator remain basic to the Biblical religion. When ancient Israel was tempted to exclusivity and particularism (tribal or national religion), the prophets proclaimed a vision of humanity united in the worship of the one God.

The New Testament asserted the uniqueness of Jesus of Nazareth as the climactic revelation of God. The writer of the Fourth Gospel ascribed to him (the Logos) identity with the one God of the Old Testament and with this God's creative action (John 1:1-3). Again, when the first little group of Jewish Christians were tempted to particularism, they were inspired to launch out into the wider world by a vision of humanity united under the Lordship of Christ. Paul of Tarsus, the most influential missionary of the Apostolic Age, re-affirmed the unity of the human race in creation (Rom. 1-3) and its destiny of unification under Jesus the Christ (Col. 1: 15-20).

As Christianity spread rapidly in the first century, it became more and more fused with the humanistic tradition of Hellenism, which saw the unique quality of mankind and its hope for the good life and "salvation" in the exercise of reason. Thus in the second century, the Apologist and Christian martyr, Justin, could identify the man Jesus with "the Reason (Logos) of which every race of man partakes. Those who lived in accordance with Reason are Christians, even though they were called godless, such as . . . Socrates and Heraclitus . . . Abraham . . . and Elijah . . . and those who so live now are Christians . . ." (First Apology, 46)

Although in the long history of the West, Christ and culture have been regarded as variously related (H.R. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture), the positive relationship has been predominant. Augustine of Hippo opens his Confessions with the prayer: "thou has made us for thyself, and restless is our heart until it comes to rest in thee . . ." Thomas Aquinas, the most influential theologian of the middle ages, assumes in his Summa Contra Gentiles a "natural" knowledge of God, accessible to reason, although he goes on to supplement this with the supernatural revelation in Christ.

The Protestant reformers posited a somewhat greater tension between "nature" and "grace". Still, they did not reject the Christian humanistic assumption of the positive contribution of human reason and of culture. Renaissance thinkers were even more appreciative of the dignity of man, without rejecting the necessary role of Christ and his church in western culture. In short, up to the 18th century, there was virtual unanimity that all mankind was naturally religious.

The thinkers of the Age of Enlightenment rejected much in the old order. Most, however, made some room for God and religion, if only as a moral guide, as in the case of the Deists. Still, for the first time, a small but vocal number of atheists did appear on the western scene. A secular humanism appeared, which viewed

traditional religion as the enemy of human freedom and self-fulfillment rather than its guarantor.

At the beginning of the 19th century, this challenge was met by people like the most influential of Protestant theologians, Friedrich Schleiermacher. He asserted to the "cultural despisers" of religion, that in fact all mankind were naturally religious and that the religious experience of oneness with God was the fountainhead of all true learning and morality.

During the last century and a half, the conflict between Christian humanism and secular humanism has been severe. The notion that traditional religion was false and in fact an obstacle to human happiness and fulfillment has been championed by thinkers like Comte, Marx, Freud, and, more recently, the atheistic existentialists and the death-of-god theologians. "Secularization" is said to have become widespread.

On the other hand, Christian humanism has had its staunch defenders. Paradoxically, while the western world has undergone an apparent secularization, the Christian missionary enterprise burgeoned, making Christianity the first truly global religion in human history. Moreover, in the west, Christian apologists have endeavored to come to terms with the various influences which supposedly led to secularization: Marxism, Darwinism, the study of the history of religions, cultural relativism, historical-critical study of Christianity's own Scriptures, and existentialism.

While recognizing that 20th century people do not think in the same way in which ancient and medieval people thought, and admitting that the old nature-supernature scheme is foreign to many today, Christian theology has sought to continue to assert God and transcendence, and to retain these as a basis for human existence. It has sought to interpret human experience in a way which rejects a "flattened" naturalism and reveals "signs" of transcendence in our lives. The essential argument of Schleiermacher found an able advocate in the late Paul Tillich, who aimed to help

his readers to see the "dimension of depth" and the "ultimate concern" in life.

"Biblical Realism" was championed by Reinhold Niebuhr and his brother Helmut Richard. The sociologist Peter Berger, especially interested in the sociology of knowledge, has attempted to "relativize the relativizers" and to understand such ordinary experiences as hope, humor, and even radical evil as signs of transcendence.¹ Langdon Gilkey concluded from his experience in a war-time internment camp that "a man's morality or immorality stems from the deepest center of his life" and that "every man has such a spiritual center of security and meaning".² A Catholic priest-sociologist asserts on the basis of his empirical studies that, at least in America, secularization is "a myth".³

Clearly, the long western tradition of Christian humanism is threatened in the modern world. (The struggle is compounded and confused by the fact that the opposing sides seem often to be talking past one another.) But the tradition is still very much alive. The writers of this proposal believe that it is viable for the present and future, and that its principle spokesmen ought to be the colleges of the Church.

II. Christian Humanism in Ancient and Medieval Times

From the earliest days of Christianity Christian writers struggled with the question of the proper relationship between the Christian religion and its cultural context. The Latin patristic scholar Tertullian in his famous quip, "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" expressed hostility to pagan learning. Somewhat conditioned by the persecutions raging around him, Tertullian feared that Christianity would be corrupted by the contact with Graeco-Roman culture, but more to the point he believed that the Christians having Christ made classical culture

¹P. Berger, A Rumor of Angels, Doubleday, New York, 1970.

²L. Gilkey, Shantung Compound, Harper, New York, 1966, p. 230.

³A. Greeley, The Denominational Society, Scott, Foresman and Co., Glenview, Ill., 1972, p. 127ff.

unnecessary. During the first three centuries A.D. when Christianity was an underground religion under intermittent persecution, Tertullian's violent hostility was somewhat understandable and won him adherents. But the situation changed suddenly. Early in the fourth century the Roman Emperor Constantine's edict of toleration changed the legal status of Christianity and caused not a few Christian thinkers to examine the topic afresh. Jerome and Augustine, two of the greatest Latin writers of the patristic age, became involved with the question of the relationship between Christianity and classical culture.

Jerome had the best secular education available in his time (340-420), was known as a lover of Cicero and Virgil, and was widely considered a splendid teacher of the pagan authors. Then came a renunciation of the classics--his famous dream in Epistle 22 gives some valuable clues to his state of mind--and his espousal of asceticism. But try as he might, and sometimes he did not try, Jerome could not give up his training in the pagan classics. He drove himself as biblical commentator, translator and theological controversialist, almost overwhelming himself with work, yet his letters throughout his life abound with quotations from pagan authors. Even in his biblical commentaries he cites Horace, Plautus and Virgil. His literary style clearly betrays his knowledge and love of the classics. In connection with his supreme achievement, the Vulgate Bible, Jerome argues that to interpret the Bible rightly one must have had an education similar to the one he himself had received.

Like his somewhat older contemporary Jerome, Augustine was fortunate to have a splendid secular education. For ten years he taught rhetoric and acquired something close to reverence for Cicero whom he was to admire for the rest of his life. His estimate of the purpose of pagan learning comes through in De Ordine,

a treatise he wrote early in his career: ". . . all those liberal arts are learned partly for the conduct of life, partly for the understanding and contemplation of the universe . . ." Years later when he wrote De Doctrina Christiana he specifically refers to the De Ordine and says that he now regrets ". . . the emphasis that I laid on the liberal arts of which many saints are greatly ignorant, whilst some who are familiar with them are not saints . . ." He goes on to suggest that all of the disciplines of pagan antiquity should be closely studied by Christians, but for the purpose of interpreting the Bible. Augustine's new attitude was the product of a lifetime of experience in which Christian faith had become the dominant influence in his life and because he was the most influential thinker in the West his curricular emphasis persisted for over six centuries.

Already in Augustine's own time the fragmentation of the Roman Empire was underway; his most famous work, City of God, was written to rebut the charge that Christianity had brought about the sack of Rome in 410. The decay of Roman institutions in the West left a political and cultural vacuum. Eventually, almost by default, the Christian Church became the matrix for the diverse cultural traditions in the West. After several centuries the papacy replaced the old Roman imperial authority as the most significant cultural institution. As important as the papacy was to become, its rise to prominence was slow and not free from setbacks. Meanwhile, as the Roman Empire in the West headed for extinction, monasticism, a Christian institution of unusual strength and tenacity began to flourish. Simple, self-contained communities of people devoted to a life of work and worship met the needs of the fifth century and many centuries thereafter. In the early sixth century the rule of St. Benedict set out a pattern for monastic life that seemed to combine the best of Roman practicality and legality with Christian charity and idealism. From the sixth through the eleventh centuries Benedictine monasticism served to

preserve much of what was best from the past. This was a time when, as Kenneth Clark puts it, western civilization came through by the skin of its teeth. Preservation of the heritage of the past was a prime necessity and no mean accomplishment. During this time monastic schools provided almost the only opportunity for education and learning. Those intending to become monks needed to be taught reading and writing, the chant necessary for divine worship, and in some cases the copying and illuminating of manuscripts. The curriculum was generally the liberal arts as prescribed by Augustine, divided into the trivium: grammar, rhetoric and dialectic; and the quadrivium: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. These disciplines did aim at the study of Scripture, and patristic commentaries on Scripture as well, as Augustine had instructed. The education was rudimentary indeed and there was relatively little independent thought, but some sense and semblance of the past was preserved.

Important monasteries had to have some way of duplicating needed books and a place for writing documents, letters and other books. This was known as the scriptorium--a kind of publishing house. Here were produced books for ordinary everyday use as well as magnificent volumes fit for divine worship. Before the time of Charlemagne monastic handwriting took a bewildering variety of forms. Thereafter a kind of standardization took place with Caroline miniscule, a most beautiful and legible script. It might be claimed that the most important survivals from the early Middle Ages are the splendid illuminated books. In the scriptorium were produced these sumptuous volumes--Psalters, Gospel Books, Bibles, Sacramentaries--usually meant for use in divine worship. To be allowed to illuminate a manuscript was a rare privilege which required artistic skills of a high order. It is no exaggeration to say that the seventh through the tenth centuries witnessed the production of some of the most magnificent books ever made. One has only to

look at the Book of Kells or the Lorsch Gospels to grasp the truth of that assertion.

Along with the scriptorium for producing books was needed some sort of library to conserve them. By comparison with modern libraries those of most monasteries were pitifully small. The best library in the tenth century did not possess a thousand volumes. Small as the libraries may have been they preserved the only surviving copies of most of the literature of classical antiquity. It is slight exaggeration to cite the monasteries as the most significant transmitters of the classical past to the present. By relating all knowledge to the Bible as Augustine instructed, the monks preserved that knowledge.

In the early Middle Ages cathedrals too had schools which were maintained by the local bishop for the education of his clergy. Curricula in the cathedral schools were similar to those in the monastic schools. Not until the tenth century did cathedral schools equal the best of the monastic schools. With the increase of towns and trade after the tenth century cathedral schools began to flourish and some like Chartres, Reims, Paris, Cologne and Canterbury attained real distinction. Although there were efforts to heed Augustine's advice about the proper place and role of secular knowledge, it proved more and more difficult not to let secular studies have an independent place. To put the matter bluntly, secular studies became separated from biblical studies. In the late tenth century Gerbert, a scholasticus at the cathedral school of Reims, lectured on the entire corpus of logical works of Boethius, the main source for what was then known in the West about ancient logic. From logic Gerbert's interest gravitated to rhetoric and then to arithmetic, astronomy and music. Gerbert achieved considerable fame in his time as a teacher and went on to become Pope Sylvester II. Cathedral schools tended to flourish with the presence of an impressive individual like Gerbert. Perhaps the most important example of this was the cathedral school at Paris with its magnetic teacher, Peter Abelard.

After Gerbert's time there was a new and revived interest in the study of logic (dialectic). In a world as chaotic as that of the tenth century logic exerted a fascinating power; logic could produce intellectual order. Gerbert reawakened interest in the logical corpus of Boethius who had preserved Aristotle's elementary works on logic. Aristotle was able again to inspire wide study and appreciation once his work could be digested. The task took centuries and was revolutionary. Theology was most profoundly affected for the methodology of theological discussion underwent drastic change. Logical analysis was applied to the study of the sacraments, the persons of the Trinity, and Christ's humanity and divinity. Every branch of thought came to be affected by logic. This phenomenal growth in the study and application of logic is bound up with the development of scholasticism, the methodology of the schools, whose fullest development was seen in the universities.

R. W. Southern suggests that monasteries of Europe were the great centers of supernatural influence in the early Middle Ages, but it was in the monasteries too that a change in this outlook came about. As Southern puts it:

The change took the form of a greater concentration on man and on human experience as a means of knowing God. This was a significant step towards the restoration of the dignity of man, for it made the study of man an integral part of religious life.¹

Great figures of the twelfth century such as Anselm, Bernard of Clairvaux and Richard of St. Victor made popular this method of introspection. In a short time friendship--the sharing of self-knowledge--came to be thought of as essential to religious life as the work of Aelred of Rievaulx demonstrates:

The treatise that Aelred wrote on friendship is the most beautiful example of the casting of an ancient humanistic theme into a Christian mould, and the sequence which it elaborates--nature prompting, reason regulating, experience strengthening, religion perfecting--is the basis of all religious humanism.²

¹ R. W. Southern, Medieval Humanism and other Essays, New York, Harper, 1970, p. 33.

² Ibid., p. 35.

No friendship was more important or eagerly sought than the friendship between God and man. The key to this friendship came to be the notion of the humanity of God. "The greatest triumph of medieval humanism was to make God seem human," says Southern.

The next problem was how to make a universe that for so many centuries had seemed chaotic and mysterious appear friendly, familiar and intelligible. This task fell to the new schools, the universities, which faced the world unlike the monasteries which faced away from it. Southern emphasizes the emancipating role of the medieval universities and scholasticism which has come to be obscured by the trenchant, sometimes narrow-minded, criticism of later centuries. The medieval universities brought intellectual order into human life and did so with remarkable swiftness. A renewal of a sense of the dignity and nobility of man followed and the role of reason came to be exalted. This of course is why the relationship of faith and reason became so dominating an issue in medieval intellectual activities. Reason was seen as the tool whereby man could collaborate with God in the restoration of creation. There was a new optimism and confidence, perhaps overconfidence, in intellectual circles and in what man could do. The prospect for human improvement seemed to stretch forth. Christian intellectual pursuits could follow many and diverse paths. Aristotle became the dominant influence from the Greek past but Plato was never entirely absent. It was reckoned that Arabic and Jewish learning might have much that was valuable to contribute to Christian understanding of the Bible. Southern puts the matter in a nutshell:

Put in its very simplest terms medieval thought became a dialogue between Aristotle and the Bible . . . Paradoxical though it may seem, it was the Bible that did most for humanism in its medieval form simply because it provided the most difficult problems.¹

¹R. W. Southern, op cit., p. 47.

Thinkers more and more steeped in Aristotle found the Bible a challenge and Southern concludes that "the paradoxes of the Bible did more for rational argument by stimulating discussion than all the reasons of Aristotle which were swallowed whole."¹

Thomas Aquinas represents some of the best and most enduring intellectual effort produced during the Middle Ages. His work reflects luminously on the reputation of the University of Paris in the thirteenth century. The task of synthesis he set for himself was nothing less than a comprehensive harmonization of Aristotelian philosophy and Christian theology. Aquinas agreed with Aristotle that the universe is orderly and rational and then, as Southern remarks:

Man was important because he was the link between the created universe and the divine intelligence. He alone in the world of nature could understand nature. He alone in nature could understand the nature of God. He alone could use and perfect nature in accordance with the will of God, and thus achieve his full nobility.²

Here then was Christian humanism at its best.

The brilliant achievement of Aquinas was not without its critics even during his own lifetime. When possible he answered his critics, but his life was too short to deal with the numerous objections raised. There were jealousies and rivalries within his own Dominican order, although the order after his death accepted his work and made its study mandatory. His boldly confident rationalism was opposed by those who followed the more mystical, traditional and Platonic approach to the divine set out by Augustine and strongly adhered to by the Franciscan order, especially Aquinas's great contemporary, Bonaventura. Thomas also encountered opposition from officials in the papal curia who feared that some of his ideas veered dangerously close to heresy. Thus great though the impact of Aquinas's work was, it was not universally accepted.

¹ R. W. Southern, op. cit., p. 48.

² Ibid., p. 50.

An important aspect of Thomas's work was his methodology and scholasticism, the scholastic method, remained for centuries as a powerful intellectual influence on many universities. Handled with subtlety and skill to searching purpose by an Aquinas, scholastic method could be arid and sterile, as Erasmus and Luther later claimed, when employed by a lesser mind. Then too the fourteenth century brought a changed intellectual outlook. The optimism which carried forth so many intellectual efforts in the thirteenth century suddenly evaporated. Political and economic disorder were spreading. Plague soon followed. Somehow the universe suddenly seemed less reasonable. By some strange turns of events the synthetic vision of an Aquinas now seemed out of place.

III. Renaissance Humanism: How Christian?

Renaissance humanism brought a new awareness, perhaps self-consciousness, to western thought in the fourteenth century. This consciousness had about it both positive and negative aspects, and both have made the Renaissance and its significance a topic of lively discussion for centuries. One of the most striking aspects of this awareness was that beginning in the fourteenth century in Italy first in Florence and later in other city-states, thinkers perceived themselves as strikingly different from their predecessors and as consciously bringing into being a new age. Petrarch, often called the father of Renaissance humanism, formulated this idea rather sharply. The period from Constantine's conversion to Christianity in the fourth century until his own time in the mid-fourteenth century he saw as an era of such debased culture and learning that he labelled it the Dark Age. Though he himself did not specifically charge Christianity with responsibility for the debasement, others later drew that inference. It would be far from the truth to allege that Petrarch was anti-Christian, or a-Christian, for his own life and work show his deep devotion to Christianity and

Christian values. Yet his reverence for the classics, his emphasis on the importance of their revival, and his deliberate attempts to imitate their literary style had a profound effect on his contemporaries and successors. Boccaccio and Salutati viewed their time as a part of the revival and Flavio Biondo set forth a periodization of history that has since become conventional: classical antiquity, the Middle Ages, and modern times. Where Petrarch favored the revival of classical letters and saw himself as the great reviver, others called for a revival of classical art and saw in the work of Giotto its beginning. This view was articulated most forcefully by Giorgio Vasari who did place blame for the decay of classical art upon the Christians and gave credit to the cult of the classics for bringing about a revival in art that rivaled Rome and in some instances even surpassed it. Because of the esteem for their views the legacy of Petrarch and Vasari had its unfortunate side. The characterization of the Middle Ages as a Dark Age, which they espoused, led to misunderstanding and distortion of the nature and value of the intellectual and artistic heritage of the period. Additionally, whether or not they so intended, they commenced a weakening of the Christian element in western culture which was to entail some dire consequences. To be fair to Petrarch it should be pointed out that the Christian perspective had sometimes gotten out of focus during the Middle Ages. The political involvement of the Church had its untoward dimension; scholasticism came to have its aridity and rigidity. But there was much more to the Middle Ages that Petrarch and his followers overlooked.

Italian humanism worked a radical break with the medieval tradition and thought. In a general sense Italian Renaissance humanism can be said to be education for practical and worthy living; but it was education firmly based on the study of the classical Greek and Roman writers. Florentine, Venetian, and other Italian humanists believed that classical literature held the rich and communicable remains of a momentous civilization, that it expressed a viewpoint centered on the value of man's activities in the

world. There was no necessary conflict between these attitudes and Christianity, but the fact that the classical world was mainly pre-Christian was not entirely beside the point. Ideas of unity, hierarchy and order - all valued in the high Middle Ages - were scorned by the Italian humanists. Highly prized instead were diversity, individuality and practicality. Italian humanism put man at the center of intellectual and artistic inquiry but it gave him no fixed nature, no metaphysical underpinnings. The first modern treatise on painting, Leon Battista Alberti's Della Pittura, directs painters to determine the sizes of objects in the picture space by the scale of the human figures there represented. To emphasize his point Alberti employed a maxim used long before by Protagoras, "Man is the measure of all things." Italian humanism focused on man's humanity and his potential; it offered him glory in this world, rather than salvation in the next. There was a concern for fame and reputation that sometimes bordered on obsession. These humanists therefore emphasized the study of history, recognizing that man lives in a changing temporal continuum. The social background of the Italian humanists is not an irrelevant consideration; the majority were laymen, had urban connections, and by profession were lawyers, notaries, and public servants. In the Middle Ages men of learning generally had been members of the clergy.

Given the different background, attitudes and outlook of the Italian humanists the course of study in the schools was bound to be different. The curriculum of Italian humanism included five interrelated disciplines: grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history and moral philosophy. Grammar meant first, the study of Latin, and then, ambitiously, Greek. Renaissance educational theory held that to enter public service a knowledge of Latin grammar was necessary. The summit of grammatical study was philosophy which involved a sense of the historical development of a language as well as a comprehensive grasp of its literature. Rhetoric involved knowing techniques of persuasion,

especially those which might be useful for a career in public service where speaking well and writing elegantly might pay rich dividends. Poetry helped to shape what would now be called a well-rounded individual; it could broaden one's outlook. From classical poets like Horace, Virgil, even Homer, one could learn how to enrich what one had to say. History brought some sense of unity to Italian humanism. These writers possessed a common view that classical ideals reaffirmed their own ideals. They did not see it as important to study the ancient past just for its own sake but rather for its practical value for current affairs. Moral philosophy involved placing the focus of intellectual interest as much as possible on man. This often involved a shift away from religious dimensions simply by taking God for granted and then examining man in one or another aspect and relying heavily on the support of classical texts and arguments.

In the era of the Renaissance Christian humanism again came to the fore in northern Europe. Though others labored in the vineyard the pre-eminent representative of northern humanism was that of Erasmus. Many religious currents ran deeply in northern Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and a main religious stream flows through this eminent Dutchman. While the Christian element is very strong in Erasmus, so too was his appreciation for Italian humanism. He recognized the noble and ennobling quality of those efforts and was able to cast them in a Christian mold. In his work he united the two dimensions without sacrificing either to the other. Erasmus was easily the most well known and highly respected intellectual of his age. Yet in an age unusually sensitive to the need for reform in religion, Erasmus appeared as a responsible and constructive critic of society. He criticized the superstition as well as the scholasticism of the late medieval Church. His criticisms of the Church were couched in a style both lucid and elegant, sometimes as gentle satires, sometimes as practical guides to a pious life. To the very end of his days he remained

gently tolerant though some of his contemporaries, most notably Luther, did not appreciate his gentle tolerance.

Erasmus magnificently demonstrated his Christian humanism in his editorial work. He carefully edited many works from the patristic age and provided commentaries that were models of their kind. His most important editorial service came with his Greek edition of the New Testament. With the advent of printing it was widely recognized in Europe that a text of the Bible purged of copyists' errors was highly desirable and necessary, but at the same time some scholars and churchmen feared that making the Greek text of the Bible available would throw into question the traditional Latin version, Jerome's Vulgate. Erasmus persisted in the face of considerable opposition and in the end triumphed. His version of the New Testament was swiftly recognized as the best available. The reputation of Erasmus was enhanced by the way in which he took advantage of a new technology of his time, the printing press. All of his works were printed, even his letters, and eagerly sought after by an avid public. The Christian humanism of Erasmus offered a stance that for a time was widely attractive. It presented a point of view that was tolerant, humane, and deeply religious; simultaneously it provided a sophisticated perception of human beings in their precise historical settings.

- o Christian Humanism in England and Germany from the End of the Fifteenth Century to the Twentieth Century

Christian humanists after the end of the fifteenth century believed in the power of the human intellect to bring about institutional and moral improvement. The new Greek and Hebrew learning which was coming out of the Renaissance was thought to be capable only of producing good, even when at first it seemed removed from the Christian tradition. Christian humanism was built on the conviction of the importance of the rational faculties of man. It emphasized nature rather than grace, and ethics rather than theology, and above all it emphasized action not contemplation. ²¹ In its program there was a wide

range of accomodation between Christian and classical ideals. There was an emphasis on the acceptance of all learning by Christians - an emphasis on the point that all literature - including classical literature - contained nothing incompatible with Christianity. Learning could not corrupt, but it would purify Church and society. Man was capable of improvement through education. Belief in the potentialities of reform through education was the most distinguishing characteristic of German and English Christian humanists who flourished at the time of the Reformation.

We can not stress too much that our definition of Christian humanism containing as part of its meaning "the tradition of Christian learning" applies to the tradition of Christian humanism in Britain and Germany. There for four hundred years Christian humanists looked without embarrassment to the past as a model of reform. For the heirs of the Renaissance this past was primarily that of classical antiquity. For exponents of Reformation and Counter-Reformation the emphasis of this past was more on the specifically Biblical and Christian tradition. During this four hundred year period there were of course many churchmen who looked with disdain upon pagan letters and secular learning. There were literati who discounted both aspects of the tradition. Christian humanists tried to combine the two. In this they were following the tradition of medieval Christian humanism which had made a synthesis of Christian and classical learning. This had been done above all by Augustine, Aquinas and Dante.

The ideal of the Christian humanists in Britain and Germany between 1600 and 1900 centered on Humanitas and Pietas. Humanitas had assumed shape among the Greeks and was transmitted from the Greeks by Panaitios to Cicero in Rome from whom it was passed down to subsequent ages. Humanitas included the espousal of these values - the love of mankind, the basic dignity of man, the idea that man was worthy of respect and that he should show respect to his fellows. It implied that human behaviour conformed to the

seemly, that others were to be treated with civility, that one should strive to maintain concord and avoid dissension, and that differences should be solved through the arbitration of reason. Humanitas implied reform by persuasion, not compulsion or revolution.

The umbrella term for the Christian values involved in this alloy of Christian humanism may be referred to as Pietas. It included values of reverence, devotion, commitment to the enriching concepts of Humanitas by the addition of compassion, patience, long-suffering, forgiveness, humility, self-effacement, and fellowship.

In England this post-medieval Christian humanism penetrated Oxford and Cambridge when a series of prelates and men of affairs returned from Italy to England after the middle of the fifteenth century - among these were William Grocyn, William Latimer, and Thomas Linacre who learned Greek in Italy and propagated its values in England. Among influential ecclesiastical patrons of Christian humanism were Thomas Chaundler, warden of New College, Oxford who wrote in the Ciceronian manner and patronized humanist writing; Warham - the Archbishop of Canterbury; Robert Fleming - Dean of Lincoln - who brought many classical and humanist works from Italy to England. There was also the Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London - the learned Colet - who had been influenced by the humanists Ficino and Pico della Mirandola in Italy and returned to England in 1496-7 to disseminate the classical Christian heritage and apply the humanist critique to the Bible. Colet not only stressed that the Bible was a book which should be criticized as any other text - such as Virgil or Cicero - but he also stressed the relevance of the Bible to the solution of contemporary problems. Colet believed so strongly in education that he sacrificed a large part of his fortune to found St. Paul's School to spread humane learning. He convinced a number of his friends, followers, and patrons of the soundness of this approach and this led to a number of humanistic foundations at Oxford and Cambridge.

These concerns were also exemplified in Thomas More and Erasmus during the

period in which he was in England. More's Utopia is an application of Christian principles to the solution of the contemporary problems of society and Erasmus of course is one of the most famous symbols of the possibility of the coexistence of classical learning and the truth of the Christian religion in one person. As a youth Erasmus learned Horace and Terence by heart. "An occult force," he remembered, "an occult force of nature drove me to the humanities." (Bainton, p. 11) His inducement for joining the Augustinian canons at Steyn was that they had a good library. Luther entered the monastery to save his soul by good works, Erasmus to enlighten his mind by good books. In an early pamphlet Erasmus wrote vehemently against monks who discountenanced pagan literature. The theme of many of his works is the reform of society through the application of the values of Christian humanism - this is theme of his Oration on Peace and Discord. His Enchiridion Militis Christiani is a homily to laymen who wished to practice the Christian ethic in secular society. Here he outlines the "philosophy of Christ" which centers on Christian virtues which could be realized in active life. Such texts about Christianity were to be made available to the whole population - for it was the great effort of education to make the Christian past live again and to make the philosophy of Christ manifest in action in society.

After the middle of the sixteenth century this English Christian humanism did not flourish to the creative extent that it did in the first part of the sixteenth century. There was a brief revival of an important school of Christian humanism at Cambridge in the seventeenth century - the so-called Cambridge Platonists. But after the Restoration - particularly at Oxford - centers of learning and the ancient universities particularly fell under a cold, formal, domination by the Church. Religion was interpreted in a technical sense - daily morning and evening prayer from the Book of Common Prayer and infrequent celebrations of holy communion. The universities and their colleges were to be freed of religious "enthusiasm." This mood prevailed through the eighteenth century.

In his later writings even he felt compelled to denounce "enthusiasm".

IV. Christian Humanism after the Reformation: Humanism Combined with Intensive Religious Instruction

A. Classical Continental Protestantism

The tradition of Christian humanism was continued in Protestantism following the Reformation. This tradition may be traced through an exploration of the standpoints of the Protestant Reformers on the relationship between faith and reason.

According to Medieval Scholastic theology, it was the faculty of reason which made human beings distinctive, which enabled them to be fit subjects for a faith-relationship with God. As Luther himself put it in what is otherwise his least humanistic book, The Bondage of the Will, heaven was not made for geese! It is true, as noted earlier, that the gift of reason was variously assessed. Luther was given to making strong statements about many things, and his derogatory statements about the human reason are often quoted, particularly his reference to reason as a "whore". This kind of statement seems to reveal him to be antihumanistic. Surely, he (along with Calvin and other Protestants) had a profound conviction of the seriousness of human sin and of rebellion against the Creator as a basic human trait ("original sin"). His statement describing reason as a whore, however, may simply be intended to indicate that reason, like sex, is susceptible to great abuse as well as proper use. Clearly, Luther did make use of the gift of reason! He was in fact much interested in liberal education.¹

¹"Luther . . . was the first modern writer to urge compulsory attendance and proposed that the state should pass such legislation and enforce it. . . . Luther favored a broader curriculum for the vernacular school. Such schools at that time usually taught merely reading or reading with writing and arithmetic . . . He proposed to have music, poetry, and history, and 'the whole course of mathematics' introduced . . . He placed a high estimate on the work of the teacher and declared that his vocation was, next to that of the ministry, 'the highest and best'. Schools were to be cheerful and pleasant so that children might take delight in acquiring knowledge . . . Along with all the other reformers, he supported the current classical program and emphasized the study of 'the holy languages': Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. They were considered holy as well as 'learned' because they were considered essential in the study of the Scriptures."

The systematization of Protestant theology began with Melanchthon and Calvin.¹

Beginning with them and continuing for centuries in their respective traditions, the Medieval distinction between truths which are accessible to reason (natural theology) and those which are above reason (revealed theology) was utilized. This apparently provided a satisfactory resolution of the question for a long time, and gave a very positive evaluation of reason, and so of what is essentially human. Consequently, a valid place for humanistic studies was assured in the universities. At the same time,

¹ The connection between Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560) and the Christian humanist tradition are three-fold. First, Melanchthon was the grandnephew and intellectual heir of the famous German humanist, Johann Reuchlin.

Melanchthon's second association with the humanist tradition was his own career as professor of Greek in Wittenberg where he became immersed with Martin Luther in the Reformation.

Melanchthon's third identification with the humanist movement is more difficult to measure because it is usually described by church historians as the source of certain departures from Luther's teachings. Melanchthon, for example, made more of the co-operating will of man with divine grace than Luther did; he developed some sympathy for the Calvinist view of Christ's spiritual presence in the Lord's Supper; he came to regard some Roman Catholic practices as harmless non-essentials; and he promoted good works, not as necessary for salvation but as evidences of salvation.

Calvin distinguishes two kinds of "understanding": 1) Of earthly things, including government, household management, all mechanical skills, and the liberal arts; and 2) heavenly things, the pure knowledge of God, the nature of true righteousness, and the mysteries of the Heavenly Kingdom. He is most insistent that both kinds derive from God. The Spirit of God is the "sole fountain of truth", and we should not reject or despise it wherever we find it, lest we dishonor the Spirit of God. True, as Augustine, Peter Lombard, and "the Schoolmen" agree, the natural gifts were corrupted after the fall. "Not that the gifts could become defiled by themselves, seeing that they came from God. But to defiled man these gifts were no longer pure, and from them he could derive no praise at all. Still, reason is proper to the nature of all mankind. There is diversity in God's gifts: some excel in keenness, others in judgment, others in wit. "Still, we see in this diversity some remaining traces of the image of God, which distinguish the entire human race from other creatures."

John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, Library of Christian Classics, SCM Press, London, 1960, Book II, Chap. II, paragraphs 13-17, pp. 271-277.

revelation (or revealed theology) was believed to supplement and to supercede natural theology. The great systems of Protestant Scholasticism written during the 16th and 17th centuries continued the Medieval practice of doing theology on the basis of Aristotelian philosophy. Education at all levels continued to be dominated by the church. Theology was taught as a matter of course in the universities, and religious instruction was predominant if not exclusive in primary and secondary schools. In the universities, the theological faculty was considered to be the "Überfakultet" on the continent of Europe until well into the 19th century. Instruction was given in Latin at least until the end of the 17th century. Philip Jacob Spener, the founding father of the Pietist movement in Germany protested against this (as well as over-emphasis upon the intellectual and upon disputation in the theological schools) in his Pia Desideria of 1675. Since the young pastors would be using German in their ministries, Spener thought that their education ought to be carried out in the vernacular.

It was in the Age of Enlightenment that this Protestant synthesis of faith and reason began seriously to be challenged. John Locke, who could justly be placed in the English Calvinist tradition, continued to operate with the old synthesis in his Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1689). Nevertheless, he typifies the beginning of a significant change in theology.

In general, it could be said that the transition from Orthodoxy or Scholasticism to Enlightenment Liberalism (representing, to be sure, only part of Protestant theology, but the main academic stream in the 17th and 18th centuries) went like this: Protestant theology began by using reason to support revelation, and ended by subjecting all of revelation to the test of reason. Locke himself opened the door by asserting that, while revelation of "propositions" which are above reason is certainly possible (the resurrection of the dead is his example), it is reason which determines what was a genuine revelation as opposed to the false imaginings of "enthusiasm". Even the

revivalist John Wesley in the next century feared "enthusiasm". Historians like John Dillenberger and Claude Welch¹ and Jaroslav Pelikan² have pointed out the continuity between Scholasticism and Enlightenment Rationalism. The continuity lies precisely in the high value placed upon the power of human reason.

The continental movement known as Pietism (closely connected historically and religiously with Anglo-Saxon Puritanism and later Evangelicalism) enjoyed its greatest prominence during the first half of the 18th century. It was primarily a movement of revival, and sought to remain orthodox in its theology. However, emphasizing the will and the emotions as it did, it tended to disparage the intellect and consequently to weaken the humanistic synthesis between reason and faith. On the other hand, Pietism was, like Luther, very much interested in popular education. True, the ultimate aim of this interest was religious training; reading was taught in order to promote study of the Bible and devotional literature by the common people. But the movement gave a great impetus to education; this was its chief contribution to culture. It founded many schools, and it achieved a degree of reform in theological education. Its intellectual center was the University of Halle. Pietism waned with the rise of rationalism during the second half of the 18th century, and ceased to be the dominant strain in Protestantism. However, it certainly did not die out, any more than did Scholasticism, and it re-emerged as a strong force, in many instances allied with Scholasticism during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The story of the emancipation of the various branches of learning from control of theology and the church beginning with the Enlightenment will be told later. Put in other words, the synthesis between reason and faith broke down for many people.

¹ J. Dillenberger and C. Welch, Protestant Christianity, Scribners, New York, 1954, pp. 151-152.

² J. Pelikan, From Luther To Kierkegaard, Concordia, St. Louis, 1950, p. 83.

This occurred gradually, and was reflected in changes in education. In Protestant countries, the educational function increasingly passed from the control of the church to that of the state. Historians of education speak of a transition "from humanism to realism".¹ Realism "connotes concrete knowledge, practical and vocational skills, the learning of languages for commercial or diplomatic rather than for literary use, and the study of history, politics, law and the sciences. It is, negatively, a reaction against the literary and artistic purposes of the Renaissance and against the classics. Among the Realists, the fine arts, music, dancing, and even literature were given very little place or none at all".² Realists favored broadening the curriculum. The movement was not necessarily anti-religious. In fact, some pioneers of modern education were religious leaders, such as the Moravian bishop John Comenius. The schools of the Pietists and the Puritans in general were "Realistic" in their curricula.³

B. Catholicism

The Jesuits and Christian Humanism

Although originally conceived as a missionary order, the Society of Jesus early turned to education. Indeed, historically, education has been so much its main mission that it may rightly be called the teaching order of the Catholic Church.

The founder, Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) combined in extraordinary fashion the Spanish mystical piety (cf. His Spiritual Exercises) with respect for reason and education. He was the first founder of a religious order to assume that the education of youth was the most significant part of its work. His attitude toward education was strongly influenced by his contact with the Christian humanists of Holland. The result was the central position held by Cicero in the classical curriculum of Jesuit schools. Throughout the next four centuries, Cicero was the author for Jesuits, the stylist for

¹Good and Teller, op. cit., p. 165.

²Ibid., p. 166.

³Ibid., p. 171.

whom they had the greatest reverence. Loyola also strongly encouraged his followers to maintain contact with humanistic centers like the universities of Paris and Louvain.

Christian humanism plays a central role in the literature of the Society. The greatest educational document of the Society is part four of the Constitutions of Loyola. This treatise is the basis of all the official documents which came later, such as the Ratio Studiorum of 1559, one of the strongest defenses of the place of the humanists and classical studies in Christian education to come out of the 16th century. Later official Jesuit pronouncements were interpretations either of the Constitutions or the Ratio Studiorum. These documents and the schools which were patterned after them were among the leading humanistic influences of the 17th and 18th centuries. An indication of the scope of Jesuit education is the fact that by 1750 in France they were running more than 700 schools enrolling over 200,000 pupils.

The Jesuits continued to maintain and to defend Christian humanistic education, as is shown by the Acts of the Legislative Assemblies of the order (collected in Monumenta Germania Paedagogica, Berlin, 1887-1894, and Monumenta Paedagogica, Berlin, 1901-1902).

There was a great stress on Latin in the Jesuit schools. The central core of the curriculum was reading of the Greek and Latin Classical authors (Homer, Plato, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, et. al.). The Jesuits not only imparted knowledge of the classics of the past; they also made contributions to contemporary, creative humanistic enterprises in two fields. The first was original Latin school-drama dealing with sacred and secular subjects, locally composed and locally performed. The second great Jesuit contribution to the humanities was in historical works, particularly the historical school of the Bollandists who flourished in the Low Countries in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The Bollandists are most famous for the Acta Sanctorum and their most important historian was Papenbroeck, who died in 1714. Of the work of

this group, Leibniz wrote: "If the Jesuits had produced nothing but this work, they would have deserved to be brought into existence".

The Benedictines

Throughout the Middle Ages and during the first two centuries after the Reformation, Benedictine teachers and schools were loyal to the classical humanistic tradition. Most monasteries possessed at least a handful of monks who learned and in turn imparted to others a real love of the great Latin writers of antiquity. It must be stated that in the Middle Ages certainly and even after the 16th century, classical studies and tastes within the Roman Church must be regarded as a true offspring of the Benedictine discipline. We can also assert that the spirit of Virgil and Horace influenced the spirit of Benedictine life.

In two ways the Benedictines carried the classical humanistic spirit into European culture generally. First, they carried their fidelity to the classics into their own poetical compositions. Second, the Benedictine schools espoused the Roman curriculum of grammar and classical authors wherever they were established. Benedictine children were reared on pagan authors. They were taught first of all Virgil, but also Lucan, Terence, Sallust, Cicero, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, as well as the Christian Latin poets Prudentius and others.

C. Britain and America

The outcome of the Reformation struggle in Britain, which could be said to have lasted until the close of the 17th century, was that Britain clearly would not revert to Catholicism. Scotland was Calvinistic and Presbyterian. The question was how "Protestant" England was to be. Puritan influence was strong, but, except for a brief period after the Civil War, not dominant. Anglicanism would predominate in moderate form in England. Non-conforming Protestants would be extended a measure of toleration (1689), but would be barred from the only universities, Oxford and Cambridge,

where subscription to the 39 Articles would be required for admission. Here a classical curriculum prevailed until very recently. Dissenters established academies (often of high standards) which were more "Realistic" in their curricula, but the classics were not ignored, any more than they were in the Scottish universities. The earliest American colleges (Harvard, Yale, et. al.) continued both the Christian and the classical commitment. Indeed, in America, the colleges and universities established by the churches have been the chief centers of Christian humanism.

V. Beginning with the Age of Enlightenment, Increasing Conflict between Christian Humanism and Secular Humanism

"The Enlightenment" was a term applied to themselves by certain thinkers of the 18th century. The term correctly describes them in that they were relatively enlightened as compared with the previous age. They had enormous faith in mankind, in its "perfectibility" and ability to progress through education. They carried forward the tradition of classical and Renaissance humanism. They were a relatively small group, but in time their influence gradually filtered down into the general population, beginning of course with the upper, educated classes. Religiously, orthodoxy and pietism persisted long (and actually revived in the following century), especially among the common folk. Protestant Christianity was more receptive than Catholic to "enlightened" ideas, in part because it lacked the tight discipline of Catholicism. No doubt the fact that the French Enlightenment produced more radical thought was due to the opposition of entrenched Catholicism, although approximately one-third of the French clergy supported the revolution when it came, inspired by Enlightenment ideas.

There were three main religious standpoints among the Enlightenment thinkers. First, there were what could be called the orthodox rationalists. These attempted to uphold traditional orthodox doctrines, though with a deep suspicion of "enthusiasm"

and with a rationalistic tendency. Typical of this standpoint was John Locke. He represents the early stage of Enlightenment, and in general it can be stated that with time the Enlightenment became more radical. Second, there were the Deists, who attempted to maintain a belief in a transcendent Deity while at the same time making Him remote in space and time and more or less abandoning the traditional mysteries of Christianity (doctrines of Trinity, Atonement, Revelation, Sacraments). These were the proponents of "natural" religion, the lower part of the Medieval dichotomy of natural and revealed theology, what can be known of God by the unaided human reason. Voltaire and Benjamin Franklin are figures representative of this school. Finally, there were the atheists, who appear for the first time in Western history. These regarded Christianity (and indeed all religion) as superstition and as an obstacle to human progress. This was a small but influential group, typified by Holbach. He wrote:

"Let us recognize the plain truth, that it is these supernatural ideas that have obscured morality, corrupted politics, hindered the advance of the sciences, and extinguished happiness and peace in the very heart of man."

Here the battle was joined which was to rage up to our own time: Was Christianity a help or a hindrance to humanism and to human progress?

An important element in Enlightenment thought was the advance of natural science. Actually, most of the important scientists up to this time were not anti-Christian. On the contrary, many of them were deeply religious--for example, Pascal and Newton, who wrote extensively on religion. Some had been clergymen, like Copernicus. Much has been written on the history of the "warfare between science and religion" (cf. Andrew White's influential work bearing this title). It is true that churchmen were often slow to accept new scientific ideas. However, so were the majority of scientists. The conflict is more correctly described as one between the old and the new science on the one hand, and between the old and the new theology on the other. When the most revolu-

tionary findings appeared, during the 19th century, especially in the fields of geology and biology, some theologians immediately attempted to come to terms with them. The celebrated debate between Huxley and Bishop Wilberforce has been over-publicized. Insufficient attention has been given to the efforts of theologians, aided by the new tools of comparative religion and the historical-critical method of Biblical studies to reconcile Darwinism with Christianity.¹

From the standpoint of Christian humanism, it might be said that there is a sliding scale of sensitivity in the relationship between Christianity and the various disciplines of learning. In general, the principle could be stated as follows: the closer one gets to the subject of man, the more sensitive are the issues for Christianity. Thus, the more abstract disciplines, such as mathematics, have few implications for Christianity. Physics and Chemistry are still relatively remote. Biology is more significant, particularly as it shades off (as it now does) into Psychology. All of the social sciences impinge upon Christianity, and the humanities even more so, because they deal directly with mankind, individually and collectively, and because they operate, consciously or unconsciously, with certain basic assumptions about mankind.

In general what has been happening since the Enlightenment is that there has been increasing conflict between Christian and secular humanism. The 19th century saw the rise of the social sciences, which increasingly tried to become more "exact" by adoption of the methods of the natural sciences. Scholars strove for a kind of objectivity which was "value-free", and in the process often overlooked the question of basic presuppositions. Humanistic disciplines such as philosophy, history, and the

¹An outstanding example is Lyman Abbott's The Theology of an Evolutionist, (1897). Earlier, John Fiske had called evolution "God's way of doing things".

study of literature became influenced by the social scientists until, for example, the discipline of history could be regarded as a part of either humanities or social science. All the while specialization and compartmentalization proceeded apace, especially as graduate schools multiplied.

It is beyond doubt that a secularization has occurred during the past century or so. One earthquake in scholarship after another shook the traditional bastions of Christian humanism, the colleges and universities. Theology tried to cope with the results of modern scholarship, but it was handicapped by the fact that it was badly divided between liberals and conservatives, and was engaged in a simultaneous internecine struggle.

The Enlightenment reached its zenith but also its limit in the thought of Immanuel Kant. Kant demolished the traditional rational arguments for the existence of God, but asserted God on the basis of the categorical (moral) imperative.

The movement of thought which followed the Enlightenment was Romanticism, a many-faceted movement and one notoriously difficult to define.¹ Like most movements, it both continued and reacted against elements of Enlightenment. In general, it continued the humanism of the Enlightenment, but thought that the Enlightenment had over-emphasized the rational faculty, and re-asserted the importance of the will and the emotions. H. G. Schenk has paradoxically characterized what united the movement as "contradictoriness, dissonance, and inner conflict!"²

The theologian who most clearly represents the Romantic standpoint and who is generally regarded as the father of modern liberal Protestantism, was Friedrich Schleiermacher. His methodology made him the single most influential theologian in Protestantism for the next century. Kant had shown that the rational arguments for God's existence were untenable. Historical-critical studies of the Bible, promoted

¹J. Barzun, in Classic, Romantic and Modern, cites a whole host of sometimes contradictory definitions.

²H. G. Schenk, The Mind of the European Romantics, Doubleday, New York, 1969,

by people like Lessing, had made the traditional authority for Protestantism (the inerrant Bible) unreliable. Schleiermacher sought to give theology a new starting point in the inner, mystical experience of unity with God. That secularization was already widespread among the educated is shown by the title of his first important book, Speeches on Religion to Its Cultured Despisers (1799). Schleiermacher sought to reserve a safe place in the psyche for religion. Perhaps the claim "I know what I have experienced" is irrefutable. But at the same time, by making religion subjective, Schleiermacher opened the way for the most dangerous critique of religion, the critique which has been most widespread in modern circles: that this subjective "feeling" is illusory.

This attack was launched by Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-72), who asserted that "God" was the mere fulfillment of human wishes, a projection of what one would like to be into the heavens. This was secular humanism with a vengeance. Feuerbach thus provided Karl Marx with his basic view of religion (that God is simply the name we give to the social forces which control our lives) and also (later) Sigmund Freud (that God is our earthly father writ large). For Marx, religion is antihumanistic. For Freud, it is illusory; though it may be temporarily necessary to uphold morality, it is destined to fade as men become more scientific in their thinking. The acceptance of an inevitable evolution toward secularism on the part of both is striking.

This idea goes back to Auguste Comte (1798-1857). Well before Darwin, he had worked out his famous law of the three stages, so central to Positivism. Sometimes called the father of sociology, he was concerned to build a new society following the revolution. Though he admired the Catholic Church, Comte regarded traditional theology as dead, and attempted to create a new "religion of humanity". His influence was enormous. "In reality his philosophy became the ideology which blanketed most of the western world in the years between 1850 and 1900."¹ Viewed from our vantage point,

¹G. Masur, Prophets of Yesterday, Harper, New York, 1961, p. 56.

however, this influence receives a mixed evaluation:

"His greatness consisted in seeing that the crisis of the Western world was first and foremost a moral and religious one; his failure lay in the fact that he thought science could resolve it."¹

Thus, the founding fathers of three of the social sciences represented an anti-Christian secularism. The influence of all three upon such humanistic disciplines as history (cf. the new wave of psycho-history, not to mention the long-term influences of Marxism and Positivism) and literary criticism have been very great. Not even the arts have escaped their influence. Besides such obvious examples as Brecht and Diego Rivera, we could mention figures like Ibsen and Shaw.

In theology, two aspects of liberal Protestantism (Catholicism rejected them until the mid-20th century) which have been important during the past century are the study of the history of (or comparative) religions and the historical-critical method of Biblical study, i. e. the application of the same critical methods to the Bible as to any other source. Both have been ambiguous as regards their aim and effects. One's evaluation of them depends upon one's theological standpoint. Moreover, some Biblical "critics" seem deliberately to have set out to undercut Biblical authority. (Opponents assume that all such study has that effect if not that intention.) A bitter controversy developed in the 19th century between proponents (liberals) and opponents (conservatives), continued for at least a generation, and indeed is still with us. Proponents claim not only that the Bible by its very nature (an historical source) demands such an approach, but also that such an approach is necessary if theology is not to lose touch with the modern mind. Opponents charge that liberals are surrendering the authority of Holy Scripture. This internal conflict made it very difficult to oppose secularism with a united Christian humanism.

The question of the relationship of Christianity to the non-Christian religions is

¹G. Masur, op. cit., p. 57.

a problem which the church faced from the beginning. Various attempts were made to reconcile the obvious fact that there was truth in the non-Christian religions with the uniqueness of Jesus. The notion of a universal natural religion or natural theology was often employed from Justin through Thomas to Schleiermacher and Tillich. As long as Christians assumed a universal common content of this theology (accessible to reason--or, in other words, a common content to what is known by reason), this operated as a satisfactory solution. But with the vastly increased knowledge of other religions gained after 1800 (ironically, often supplied by Christian missionaries), the problem was raised in a new, acute form. For the content appeared to vary greatly. The comparative study of religion (or history of religions, which came to constitute a school of theology, especially in Germany) thus worked in a relativizing fashion on all religion. It was particularly threatening to Christianity because of its claim to (at least potential) universality. Such was the effect of works like Frazer's Golden Bough. The result was sometimes an abandonment of Christianity on the part of those who studied comparative religion.

We have observed this in some of our students. Once the Biblical religion is seen not as "absolute" but "relative" (i. e. as being related to other traditions, particularly those of the ancient Near East, regardless of the fact that Biblical religion has unique features), students often leap to the conclusion that relative distinctions and value judgments are not important. In other words, relativism comes to mean moral and theological nihilism, the notion that nothing is any better than anything else. In our judgment, this conclusion is by no means inevitable. Relative judgments are vitally important. This problem is very much with us, and 20th century theologians continue to grapple with it.

Conservatism Continues in Various Forms

Meanwhile Christian theology after the Enlightenment continued to be taught in

European universities. The classical languages were a central part of the curricula. But theology was no longer "the queen of the sciences" and tended to become increasingly isolated from other disciplines. A theological conservatism persisted in some places for a surprisingly long time. At the University of Christiania (Oslo) Norway, for example "up to the 1870's it was a matter of course--not framed in any written rules or regulations--that nothing must be taught at the University which ran counter to the doctrine of the church".¹ However, this was exceptional in Protestant countries, and when secularization came, about 1880, to that university, it came with a rush.² Still, there was much theological conservatism during the 19th century. It remained strong in Erlangen and other German universities. Several traditionalist movements arose, seeking to find a solid basis for faith in the historical continuity of the church as a confessing body. These were strong in their emphasis upon Christian humanism. The Oxford movement in the Church of England was one. It is significant that this movement for renewal of the church began and continued in the university milieu. It stood, among other things, for classical learning and emphasis upon liturgical worship. Another was the Grundtrigian movement in Denmark. This began as a reaction against rationalistic Biblical criticism, but exemplified Christian humanism in its idea of the folk-high school. These anticipated the "free university" idea and emphasized the humanities (history, religion, literature), though not the classical languages.

Some Christians were unwilling to accept either the liberal or the conservative label, and attempted to do theology in a mediating fashion. Others, staunchly maintaining an orthodox standpoint (often combined with Pietism) formed organizations independent of the state churches for the purpose of missions at home and abroad, charities, and education. Many schools were founded by the "Inner Mission" societies, on

¹E. Molland, "The University and Academic Life" in Oslo, The Capital of Norway: Art and Intellectual Life at Its 900th Jubilee, Oslo, 1950, p. 118.

²E. Molland, Church Life in Norway, 1800-1950, Minneapolis, Augsburg, 1957,

all levels including gymnasias and even theological seminaries (e.g. the Free University of Amsterdam, (1881) and the Free Theological Faculty in Oslo (1908)).

Catholicism

The Catholic Church and its various orders came under the most severe attack during the following Enlightenment. It was often closely allied with the Old Regime, and its standpoint generally continued to be strongly conservative in the face of modern thought. The 18th century was one of the lowest points in the prestige of the church and the papacy. The papacy was often attacked by Catholic nations and rulers, as Enlightenment ideas and nationalism influenced them. Indicative was the fact that the Pope was forced temporarily to suppress the Society of Jesus in 1773. This in itself was a severe blow to Christian humanism because of the predominant role the Jesuits played in education.

The era of Romaniticism evoked a resurgence in Catholic piety and signalled the beginning of a long recovery of the prestige of the Papacy. Ultra-montanism culminated in the dogmas of the universal episcopate and of papal infallibility at Vatican I (1870), although paradoxically the period saw the loss of the papal states and the political power of Rome. This was an era also of paradoxical loss and gain for Christian humanism. What we may refer to as the Catholic German Christian humanism of the nineteenth century grew up largely as Catholicism was influenced by German Romanticism. The theme which united almost all the leading Catholic Christian humanists of the nineteenth century was a feeling that forms of communal life needed to be reestablished in Europe - that there was a new need for a spirit of united humanity - and Catholic Christian humanism could supply that need. At Münster - in the circle of Princess Gallitzin - Brentano, the Schlegel brothers and others discussed the ability of the church to provide social unity to European society - they were interested in the possibilities of the Roman Church being a bridge and bond which would unite religion and culture for the restoration of social unity.

These ideas were espoused in the most interesting and influential way by the theologian and historian Johann Adam Möhler at the University of Tübingen after 1824. Möhler taught and published books and articles about the Church as the means for the restoration of the communal element in European society.

Möhler's teaching and activity took place in the only German university which contained both a Protestant and Catholic theological faculty. The Protestant Stift was also an important center and influence on German romantic thought. Both Hegel and Schelling had been students there and the Stift was also a center of Romantic poetry. The Catholic school of Möhler flourished amid this stimulus.

Möhler argued to his contemporaries that the Church was able to address such problems as the multiplicity and atomization of society - that the Church could foster a social cohesion which was capable of dealing with capitalist exploitation - that the alienation which many felt in the nineteenth century could be overcome within the communal life of the Christian totality, and that the Church could re-introduce collective life into society.

Möhler argued that a social/communal body was necessary for the survival of civilization and that the Catholic Church alone could be that body. Möhler convinced many contemporaries that communal forms of life were necessary for the survival of civilization and that only the Christian Church as an institution could fulfill this need. For example - he argued that the Church alone could stand up to the cultural totalitarianism of the State. (This in articles on St. Anselm of Canterbury in the Theologische Quartalschrift in 1827). Here he wrote - "If there will be no higher power than the state in Europe then human freedom has come to an end."

In sum, Möhler was saying the Church was capable of solving nineteenth century social conflict - for it alone could effect the reconciliation of man with man through the intrusion of Spirit. The Church was capable of turning an unequal European society into

an equal European community. Christianity could make life in common possible and thereby transform daily life.

However, the restoration of the Jesuit order in 1814 did not restore their predominant position in European education. On the contrary, they were under continual attack from both within and outside the church. Their continued insistence upon the classical curriculum was one reason. Churchmen criticized their reading of the pagan classics. Throughout Europe, their schools were mostly taken over by the state. In France, for example, The Education Act of 1882 separated public schools from the Catholic Church. The Act of 1904 placed secondary schools under government control and presaged the separation of church and state the following year. By that time the Jesuit schools were enrolling only one-fourth the number of students they had 150 years earlier, despite a greatly increased French population.

In Europe, the order has had practically no opportunity to establish universities, though it has run theological seminaries. Its members also have conducted the faculties of philosophy and theology in some universities; and they have established some institutes or faculties of advanced studies in biology, chemistry, engineering, law and pre-medical subjects. But the educational work of the European Jesuits is confined almost completely to the secondary education of boys. Classical studies are at the heart of the curricula in these "colleges".

Secularization occurred rapidly and on a wide scale on the continent of Europe during the 19th century. It was more radical than in the Anglo-Saxon world. Martin Marty has described the development in the words "toward utter secularity". He writes regarding the French Catholic Church, the "eldest daughter" of Rome:

"The church survived but, in spite of the early nineteenth century reaction and restoration, it was unable to regain its place. . ."¹

¹M. Marty, The Modern Schism, Harper, New York, 1969, p. 34.

VI. The Secularization of Intellectual Life and Decline of the Impact of Christian Humanism

Britain

Victorian Britain is usually considered to have been deeply religious and strict in its morality. There is truth to this picture. No dramatic decline in British church attendance occurred until late in the century.¹ Yet the acids of secularization were at work in several ways. Marty describes the process in Britain as a drift "towards mere secularity". There was considerable ferment. Revivals like the Oxford Movement and efforts to retain the working class such as Maurice's Christian Socialism counter-acted secularization. The biggest scientific bombshell, on the other hand, was that of the Englishman Darwin. Still, British theologians of the Broad Church School like the writers of the famous Essays and Reviews (1860) and the later Lux Mundi school strove diligently to come to terms with the scientific world-view and Biblical criticism.

Nonetheless, in intellectual life, it must be said that secularization advanced. V. H. H. Green has described the process in his Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, from which much of the following is taken.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the established Church of England held a virtual monopoly in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. But the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a complete transformation of this situation. Between 1854 and 1856 the requirements for subscription to the 39 Articles before taking degrees were brought to an end. After 1871 religious tests were no longer required of University officials. By 1882 clerical fellowship had ceased to be in the majority.

In a series of lectures and essays on criticism in the 1860's Matthew Arnold called attention to the decline of the role of religion within British universities, and within British intellectual life generally. At a time when the modern spirit was ques-

¹M. Marty, op. cit., p. 61.

tioning both the validity of religion and the intelligence of those who desired still to accept it, Arnold (the avowed prophet of the modern spirit) came forward in the name of criticism and said that religion was good and necessary. It is evidence of the state of religion in general cultural life, that the reaction to Arnold's statements was one of surprise. It was thought odd that the argument would be made that religion is necessary to human nature by one who was well known to have his own personal doubts about religion. And it was Christianity and no new philosophic religion that Arnold was recommending.

By the beginning of the twentieth century junior members of the university no longer had to subscribe to the 39 Articles or attend worship in the college chapels. Between 1918 and 1939 compulsory attendance at chapel disappeared altogether from a majority of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges. Between the two world wars religious qualifications continued to be demanded for teaching posts in only a handful of colleges.

But Christianity was disappearing in fact as well as in theory and we may say that during the twentieth century it went on the defensive at Oxford and Cambridge. Between the wars the number of practicing Christians among fellows of colleges was comparatively small. The teaching body had been as much secularized as the subjects that they taught. The college chapels were almost uniformly ill-attended, the average weekly attendance being 12.2%. Between the wars undergraduate religious life moved out of university centers - out of the colleges and out of the college chapels. Religion was carried on in such extra-university societies as Pusey House. F.R. Barry commented on the situation of 1927 -

"the college chapel was the place in which members of the colleges found their spiritual home, but . . . a change had come about. Undergraduates were readier to find their own way about in religious matters. . . . A young man had not benefitted from University life unless he criticised his preconceived notions."

In his poem Dover Beach, Arnold contemplates the ebb tide and draws an analogy

to the ebbing of faith:

"The sea of faith
Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore
Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furl'd;
But now I only hear
Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar . . ."

Another witness of the Oxford of that day wrote -

"What was more significant was the growing realisation that the modern undergraduate (and don) were profoundly ignorant as to the meaning, character and teaching of the Church and the Christian message."

The secularized culture and habit of mind of the universities contributed to the declining significance of religion itself. What was causing this? First the trite but true answer that the division between religion and science was leading to the development of scientific humanism. And the scientific developments in the twentieth century were less significant than the extent to which the humanities had become liberated from religious presuppositions in which they had, to a greater or lesser extent, been cradled. History and Classics, English literature and modern languages, Law and economics became purely secular disciplines. The problem of relating Christianity and these disciplines successfully was not solved satisfactorily even by such able practitioners as Herbert Butterfield of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Arnold Toynbee's attempt to construct a religious interpretation of history brought vituperation and scorn from academics. The don who sought to integrate his field of study into a framework of religious apologetic was regarded with suspicion. C.S. Lewis, though very highly regarded as a literary scholar, lost some respect in his own university for his work in Christian apologetics. This enforced secularization of study separated further the universities from their religious roots.

The development of philosophy - particularly at Cambridge - furthered the process of secularization. The fact that no thinker in the Church or in the university compared to a Rutherford at Cambridge or a Namier at Manchester in dealing with religious topics

strengthened the impression within the universities that theology dealt with topics that were in themselves void of meaning in the modern world and of purely antiquarian interest.

We must say that after World War II there was a Christian revival of sorts at Oxford led almost exclusively by lay Anglicans who were in the main connected with the faculty of English and among whom the most prominent were C. S. Lewis and Charles Williams. Of their influence at the time the critic John Wain wrote -

"it was impossible, at that time, to take in 'Oxford' without taking in, if not exactly the Christian faith, at least a very considerable respect for Christianity. . . ."

This does not negate the fact that after the war the secularists were even more self-confident and mounted continuing attacks. The Oxford and Cambridge Humanist Societies were vigorous. One held an essay contest on the topic, "What Can Be Done With the College Chapels?"

The historical theologian Martin Marty asserts that since the middle of the last century, a "modern schism" has recurred between the religions and the secular. His choice of the term "schism" instead of the more common "secularization" is designed to indicate that religion did not disappear but rather became relocated, compartmentalized. He further claims that the story of the schism has not previously been told precisely because of the schism:

"secular historians have often neglected the enduring role of religion in modern culture, and religious historians have often contented themselves with living in the private ecclesiae world. Even to speak of secular historians and religious historians demonstrates a dimension of the schism."¹

Here is our problem in a nutshell. Increasingly, Christianity became segregated from the other disciplines of learning. Under the impact of the ideas of the secularists we have mentioned, the intellectuals and artists (to say nothing of the laboring class),

¹ M. Marty, op. cit., p. 13.

came more and more to ignore Christianity. The expansion of the university and increasing specialization contributed to atomization. In the European universities, Theology continued to be taught, but it was no longer the queen of the sciences. Indeed it was increasingly regarded as an irrelevant remnant of a by-gone age. The Council of Trent had created special seminaries for the training of the clergy, in addition to university theology. During the 19th century, Protestants on both sides of the Atlantic created theological seminaries. Like those established by Trent, these were intended to up-grade the education of clergy, and they no doubt succeeded in this. However, they served further to separate professional theology from other branches of learning. Sidney Mead and Robert S. Michaelsen have stressed this point.¹ Michaelsen writes:

"In many instances theologian education was on the defensive against the increasing power and influence of secular education. For the most part, theological schools did not occupy a very important role in the educational world."²

For a period after the Revolution, when Deism was at its peak in American religion, there was a strong tendency to bring all of higher education under state control. The Dartmouth case of 1819 safeguarded the legal status of the church college. During the 19th century, large numbers of such colleges were founded. Their rate of survival was low (perhaps 20 or 25%) but a number lived on to flourish in the 20th century. Sectarianism was their besetting problem and weakness.³ As time went by the character of many of them changed. Moreover they got increasing competition from state colleges and universities, which grew rapidly and incorporated graduate and professional schools. A system of higher education which had long been dominated by the church college has gradually been replaced by one dominated by the state institution.

¹H. R. Niebuhr and D. D. Williams, eds. The Ministry in Historical Perspectives. Harper, New York, 1956, pp. 244, 272.

²Ibid., p. 272.

³Ibid., p. 243.

The year 1870 seems to have marked a turning point in the rise of an autonomous secular higher education.¹

"The intellectual community simply went its own way after the Civil War. Colleges were the last bastions for evangelicalism, but they were often doomed. Beginning in the 1870's the purposes of the schools changed. Ministerial training became at most a minor speciality as universities sequestered religion in religion departments or divinity schools, dropped compulsory chapel, and often omitted formal religious concerns entirely. Boards of trustees, administrations, and faculties were rapidly de-clericalized. The inevitable practical concerns of medicine, science, industry, technology, and business predominated, and men despaired of (or lost interest in) effecting syntheses which would unite the disciplines of learning, especially in a theological matrix.

"Not much ideology was involved. British-style everydayishness played a bigger part. The division of labour predominated; education became expensive and had to pass into the hands of the religiously neutral state; some kinds of research could be carried on only if the clergy could be kept at a distance; private schools became dependent upon commerce and industry, not the churches; foreign university models supplanted the evangelical seminary concept."²

The sociologist C. Wright Mills has detailed the reasons for this transition:

"The secularization of learning in America was not some vague mood and principle that was suffused through educational institutions. There was a set of rather specific social mechanics underlying and promoting the secularization, and they can be enumerated:

- (1) Directly back of the educational changes on all levels lay a shifting division of labor, which was cradled in the movement of a total social structure from agrarian to urban industrialization. The elective system of the colleges was a response to this shift . . . and in turn enhanced its trend toward complication, specialization, and utilitarian rationality.
- (2) Not only did this change existing institutions but it led to an increase in the proportionate innovation of schools which had as their purpose and practice the training of scientists and engineers, as well as institutions for the professions, for business and other 'practical' training.
- (3) The schools became increasingly dependent financially upon the industrialists and the businessmen, not upon religious sects nor upon public funds. At first the bulk of the new schools were privately endowed; all the leading ones were . . .
- (4) Moreover, the rise of state universities definitely made for the introduction of more secular and utilitarian subjects. It must be asked 'for what these institutions were educating?' The answer is: for laymen of all sorts, for middle class occupational chances; certainly not for clerical careers. It follows that they should be manned by laymen and not by preachers, and we find this to have been the case . . .
- (5) As the proposition of endowed money was taken up by the originally denominational schools, their management, curricula, and content moved away from clerical

¹M. Marty, op. cit., p. 141.

²Ibid., p. 140.

hands and perspective . . . The trustees of universities and colleges more and more became businessmen, less and less clerical . . .

(6) Since the source of these endowments was not local, the management of the colleges and universities became less dependent upon local religious opinions. This is one reason why the larger universities in and near cities put much less emphasis upon religious conceptions than did the smaller ones.

(7) As long as there were only a handful of students, a school could the more easily concentrate upon training them religiously, for ministerial careers. But with increasing numbers of students, diversified and secular vocational chances had to be included in curricula considerations under penalty of institutional extinction . . .

(8) . . . The growth of public educational systems for grade and high schools did not conduce to a clerical content of higher education . . . President Grant, the 'official' spokesman for the Gilded Age, resolved in 1875 'that not one dollar' should be appropriated 'to the support of any sectarian school'. No longer interested in preparing an educated ministry, the middle class citizenry after 1850 shifted the goal of public education towards the training for civil and industrial occupations.

(9) The increased number of foreign trained men was a factor making for secularization in the higher branches of learning . . .

(10) It has been concluded by a most detailed study of the secularization of United States education: 'After considering the civil administration in its entirety in so far as it is related to our schools, we see not the intention to oppose religion but the prevention of discrimination between denominations' (Burton Confrey, *Secularism in American Education*, Ph.D. thesis, 1931). This seems true, but to it should be added the fact of the growth of indifference to religion which directed attention elsewhere."¹

The actual events which signalized the transition can be pin-pointed. Foremost among these was the passage of the Morrill Act of 1862, creating the land-grant colleges. Although the movement for technological and scientific education ante-dates the Civil War, and gave rise to some institutions, this law was of paramount significance.

"Higher education in the United States after the Civil War was transformed by more than one agency of innovation, but surely none came closer to representing fundamental developments in American social and intellectual life than did the land-grant college movement."²

Other significant factors were the development of graduate schools on the German model. Johns Hopkins had donated the money for the first such institution in 1867.

¹C. Wright Mills, *Sociology and Pragmatism: The Higher Learning in America*, Oxford, New York, 1966, pp. 50-53.

²Frederick Rudolph, *The American Colleges and University*, A. A. Knopf, New York, 1962, p. 264.

Another factor, coming slightly later, was the introduction of the elective system, spearheaded by President Eliot at Harvard.

The theologian Franklin Littell asserts that there was another, quite ironic, reason for the fundamental structural change in American higher education. He locates it in the "misguided piety" of revivalist Protestantism:

"It is significant that the great change in American higher education should date from the Morrill Land Act of 1863. This was enacted during the period of the social revolutions brought about by the Homestead Act of 1862 and the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863 . . . The Morrill Act . . . shifted the center of gravity in American higher education from Christian and humane purposes to secular and pragmatic goals . . . Ironically, it was the misguided piety of revivalist Protestantism which . . . gave the first great impetus to the state colleges and universities. The pious were determined that their sons and daughters would receive the technical training they needed in order to make their way in the world and equally determined that they should not be exposed to the hazards of classical and liberal learning. So the state colleges were voted massive subventions by the Federal Congress and state legislatures controlled by Methodists and Baptists and Disciples and others who wanted their children to have training in agricultural science, mechanical engineering and other 'useful' skills without the danger of exposure to Greek philosophy, Latin letters, Roman jurisprudence, and other classical pursuits.

Theology was deliberately eliminated, both because there were few capable of handling the discipline in its catholic and universal dimension and also because the American university was at this very time undergoing a major structural change. The structural change was fundamental and affected the basic patterns of higher education. It is usually stated that what happened was the founding of the first graduate schools . . . What actually happened was far more fundamental . . . The shift from general Christian and humane purposes for all students to departmental specialization and vocational training was the main event, with the development of the graduate school but the capstone to the process."¹

What happened in American higher education was that many colleges originally founded by the churches and grounded in the Christian faith became increasingly secularized, including the most venerable and prestigious like Harvard and Yale, while the new state universities were by their nature secular in outlook, despite efforts of some of their founding fathers to maintain within them a Christian ethos.

At Yale, the president was required as late as 1899 to profess Christian faith (as summarized in The Apostle's Creed) and membership in a Christian denomination.

² Franklin Littell, From State Church to Pluralism, Doubleday, New York, 1971, pp. 126-127.

A measure of the secularization of the university was the book God and Man at Yale published in 1954 by William F. Buckley in which he charged that while officially his Alma Mater was committed to fostering belief in God, it was in fact teaching agnosticism and atheism.

Cornell University was supported partly by public funds and partly by the bequest of Ezra Cornell. It was from the beginning oriented toward science technology and secularity. Mr. Cornell decreed that the board of trustees should never have on it a majority belonging to any one religious denomination.

During the 19th century, when most state universities were still small, some administrators tried to maintain an atmosphere which was Christian, one aspect of which was official services of worship of a vaguely Protestant nature. One such president was James B. Angell of the University of Michigan. In the 1870's he could state that religious questions were important in choosing faculty members. "The greatest care," he said, "should be taken to secure people who can prepare the pupil for the manly and womanly work of promoting our Christian civilization." Another example was President Cyrus Northrop of the University of Minnesota. During his tenure (1882-1911) the central point in the morning program was a twenty minute convocation of faculty and students for a chapel service which included hymns, prayers, and Scripture readings. The attendance of freshmen and sophomores was required. Northrop was an active Congregationalist layman and served as Moderator of the Congregational National Council. When he accepted the post at the university he said:

"I intend to stand for Christianity . . . I mean by this love of God and love of man - the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man - I mean love, peace and joy."

Northrop felt that the state university should not be godless, although neither should it be sectarian. He saw the state university as a center of Christian civilization.

Harvard was established by devout, orthodox Calvinists (Puritans). It reflects the general trend of the main stream of Protestant theology in American history from the 17th through the 19th centuries: a gradual decline of orthodoxy. To be sure, it maintains a Divinity School, one of the finest in the nation, but it is relatively isolated from the rest of the university.

Clerical influence and clerical education rapidly declined at Harvard in the 18th century. Between 1642 and 1721 52% of the graduates of Harvard became ministers. Through the 18th century, all professors (even in the medical school) were required to profess Protestant Christianity. However, in the nineteenth century religious liberalism officially took over the university in the form of Unitarianism. This was symbolized in 1804-1806 when the Hollis Professorship and the Presidency were captured by Unitarians. Henry Ware became Hollis Professor in 1804 and Samuel Webber became President in 1806 - both were Unitarian in theology. Thereafter Harvard was the fortress in America of a liberal, if not skeptical outlook toward faith. Daily morning and evening prayer continued, but they were so brief and innocuous as to be inoffensive. By 1869 President Eliot could report that "the non-Church going professors have exerted a very strong adverse influence." In 1872 attendance at prayers was made voluntary. This was the first abandonment of compulsory chapel by any American college. The Divinity School had become by the end of the nineteenth century "three mystics, three skeptics, and three dyspeptics." The Christian tradition was gradually being pushed out of the university. There was a general feeling in America by the end of the century that Harvard was full of atheism. Only one student in five was a professing Christian. The influence of religion was moved out of the university to the YMCA, to the St. Paul's Society for Episcopalians, to volunteer Bible classes.

This change is also reflected in the story of the University shields. "In Christo Gloria" - in use as early as 1693 - was voted official by the Corporation in 1847. A

tempest was created over the shields by two odes of Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1878. It was thus necessary to create a new shield and in 1885 a shield with "Veritas" surrounded by "Christo et Ecclesiae" was adopted as the official seal of the University by the Corporation. Since 1910 the "Christo et Ecclesiae" has almost universally been left off the university seal and only "Veritas" appears.¹

By 1900 in most state universities and in many colleges religion was no longer the central focus of the academic outlook. In teaching by 1900 there was a shift away from theology to ethics. At Amherst in 1903 President Harris said there was only "preaching on the real human Christ. . . . irrational doctrine has been discarded." Where chapel services were kept they were to be for the creation of moral uplift and a unified student spirit. Another example of the impact of this secularization is from the University of Chicago. When Chicago opened, two thirds of its trustees were Baptists and there was compulsory chapel. By the end of the century Chicago President William Rainey Harper realized that denominationalism had become a stigma in advanced educational circles and he attempted to obscure the Baptist side of the institution.

A group of American university reformers espoused humanistic culture in the American university after the Civil War - but this group's arguments often had a sectarian/anti-Christian ring. The humanistic advocates of culture often left out the Christian humanistic strain - at Harvard some of these humanists said that the spirit of ancient Greece was a necessary and delightful balance to the Christian workaday world. In the place of

¹ A measure of how secular Harvard has become is shown in the title of a book by G. A. Buttrick on his work within that university. This little book is entitled Biblical Thought and the Secular University. Of the secular atmosphere at Harvard Buttrick says in this book -

"The secular we take for granted, even to assuming that there is no other kind of honest education."

He feels that the university constituency is even upset with any presentation of Christian truth, even without its dogmatic and after-life assumptions.

Christianity these men espoused a new religion of culture which emphasized the moral element of culture. Matthew Arnold's definition of culture was often adopted. This new religion espoused "a wide vision of the best things which man has done or aspired after." They saw culture in the moral context of the human character shaped by what is noble and helpful. To a Harvard alumnus in 1908 culture meant manners without religion.

This non-Christian humanistic perspective was something new in post-civil war America. These new advocates of culture tended to downgrade Christian theology. The advocates of culture divorced it from Christianity. Among the advocates of culture Charles Eliot Norton was an unbeliever, so were Irving Babbitt and George E. Woodberry. These men hoped that an appreciation of culture might form a third and distinct means for understanding the world apart from science and Christianity. Babbitt declared - "The humanities need to be defined today against the encroachments of theology." George Santayana called anti-Christianity "the orthodoxy among American high-brows."

There were several practical results in the curricula and mission of universities because of the presence of this school of cultural humanism. This was the period of the rise of intellectual history and western civilization courses. There was a feeling that such courses would lead to a revitalization of society and a revival of culture. Such notions were propounded by A. C. Armstrong of Wesleyan (1908) and Alexander T. Ormond (1889).

VII. The Twentieth Century: Losses and Gains

As the 20th century opened, the prevailing mood of the western world was one of great optimism. We were in the midst of a period of great technological progress, which of course has continued, although it seems that each technological advance has brought with it new ethical problems.

Theologically, the early years of this century were the heyday of Liberalism in Protestant Christianity. This tendency was engaged in a bitter controversy with orthodoxy, but its position was stronger than ever in educated circles; it was in tune with the times and it seemed to offer the best hope for maintaining some contact for Christianity with the learned world.

What followed after 1914 was a rude awakening for the western world which disillusioned many but also led many to think more deeply about life. Our century has seen wars on an unprecedented scale, at least one world-wide economic depression, the demise of colonialism, and the political division of the world into two (or perhaps three) rival camps.

The disillusionment of Europeans following World War I was very great. Many abandoned traditional Christianity, reflecting the same attitude which two British historians ascribe to British war veterans:

"The B. E. F. was in general irreligious . . . God as an all-wise Providence was dead; blind chance succeeded to the throne".¹

On the other hand, disillusionment with the over-optimism of the pre-war period led also to a theological renaissance within Protestantism which was usually referred to as Neo-Orthodoxy. Its leaders in Europe were the Swiss Calvinists Karl Barth and Emil Brunner; in America, the brothers Reinhold and H. Richard Niebuhr. It represented both a middle ground between the old orthodoxy (called "Fundamentalism" in America) and liberalism, and a new start for theology. It reasserted many of the old doctrines, including Biblical authority as Word of God, while at the same time accepting the historical-critical method. In place of the subjective religious experience, it emphasized the "objective" word of God. It was mainly a sharp reaction against liberalism. In place of the simplistic thinking of the liberals, neo-orthodoxy asserted the paradoxical

¹ R. Graves and A. Hodge, The Long Week-end: A Social History of Great Britain, 1918-1939, Norton, New York, 1940, p. 15.

character of existence. Neo-orthodox criticism of liberalism was often severe. H.

Richard Niebuhr described it in an oft-quoted passage:

"A God without wrath brought men without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministrations of a Christ without a cross."¹

Liberalism was even charged with failure to inspire artistic creativity. One of its critics wrote:

"Thomism inspired Dante; Calvinism inspired Rembrandt; Lutheranism inspired Bach; Puritanism inspired Milton. But the liberal Protestantism of the 19th and 20th centuries has inspired not one artist, musician, poet or creative philosopher. Because it made no clear, strong demands, it did not offer the creative instinct a framework and fixed boundaries to be at once a stimulus and a guide."²

The message of Neo-orthodoxy suited the times of Depression and renewed warfare (hot and cold), and it was the dominant school of Protestant academic theology from 1920 in Europe (a decade later in America) until ca. 1960, when it mysteriously and precipitously declined.

The western religious scene in our century presents a checkered and even paradoxical picture. The new theology did not succeed in stemming the tide of secularization in Europe. Nor were the 1920's and 1930's good times for religion in America. There was a celebrated religious revival in this country during the 1940's and 1950's on the popular level. It was, apart from Neo-orthodox theology, generally superficial, and evoked considerable critique, as we shall see. In striking contrast to Europe, church membership and attendance figures in America steadily rose until the 1960's.

It is extremely difficult to generalize about the variegated American religious scene. At the grass roots level, there is everything from extreme liberalism to fundamentalism. Academic theology produced much profound thinking, but it did not often filter down to the popular level. Unfortunately, neither did it influence much the larger

¹ H. R. Niebuhr, The Kingdom of God in America, Harper, New York, 1937, p. 193.

² D. de Rougemont, The Christian Opportunity, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1963, p. 35.

academic scene. In the 20th century, intellectual and artistic life has been officially secular for the most part. Theology has been effectively compartmentalized, its influence restricted to divinity schools and church colleges. In secular universities, religion has rarely been considered as a cultural force in courses in the humanities.

This has been recognized by reputable scholars. The American literary critic Lionel Trilling writes in A Gathering of Fugitives that although it is said that there is considerable interest in religion among American literary intellectuals, "I see very little evidence of acquaintance with the documents of religion . . . and very little confrontation of the actuality of religion."

The British critic Donald Davie states:

"One does not have to read very far to discover how disabled we are, as literary historians, by our customary ignorance of theology and church history."¹

Davie deplores the lack of attention given to English religious poets like Isaac Watts, and asserts that it is really impossible to study a work like Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress without a knowledge of Calvinistic theology.

The most exciting, puzzling and turbulent period has been the last 15 years. This must of course be viewed against the background of the ferment in the nation and the world in that period. The churches have changed greatly during these years. The change has been most remarkable in the case of Catholicism, no doubt because it was long regarded as unchangeable. But the changes in Protestant Christianity have been no less great. The main impact of these changes has been to make continuity with the past more difficult. Tradition has tended to be ignored, or even despised. In academe, there has been a loss of interest in the study of history. This has resulted in ignorance of the Christian humanist tradition, even in the colleges of the church. Knowledge and appreciation of this tradition can no longer be taken for granted.

¹D. Davie "The Nonconformist Contribution to English Culture", Times Literary Supplement, 19 November, 1976.

Vatican II marked a turning point in the history of Catholicism. Since the Reformation, Catholics and Protestants opposed one another from entrenched positions. Indeed, they grew further apart (cf. the promulgation of Catholic dogmas like the Immaculate Conception, 1854; Papal Infallibility, 1870; and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, 1950). Vatican II represented a change in direction, away from polemic and toward ecumenism. The Catholic Church had essentially opposed all that the "modern world" stood for. Vatican II marked an "aggiornamento" and an attempt to come to terms with modernity.

The new openness on the part of Catholicism resulted in many and rapid changes which have been variously assessed by observers both inside and outside the church. The secularist Paul Blanshard insisted that the Catholic Church had not changed essentially (Paul Blanshard On Vatican II). Catholic Conservatives and even moderates criticized the liberalization of the church (e.g. James Hitchcock, The Decline and Fall of Radical Catholicism). Liberals and radicals complained, sometimes bitterly, that the church had not changed sufficiently (e.g. Garry Wills, Bare Ruined Choirs). Some, like Charles Davis (A Question of Conscience) left the priesthood and even the church, although there has been far greater tolerance of theological pluralism than at any time since Trent. Hans Küng questioned infallibility, and while he has been under fire, he has not been silenced. Richard McBrien and others herald the acceptance of theological pluralism. Andrew Greeley described the development as protestantization. Avery Dulles felt compelled to write a book entitled The Survival of Dogma. What seemed (at least to non-Catholics) previously to be a very tight ship has experienced confusion and even mutiny. Various writers have spoken of "a crisis of authority".

Along with theological pluralism, there has been widespread liturgical experimentation. This is the point where the average Catholic has been most directly affected. The introduction of the vernacular mass is the most obvious change. Along with this

have come innovations like guitar and even rock masses. What this has meant is nothing less than the virtual disappearance of the liturgical tradition of the past, the significance of which can hardly be overestimated. Wills writes:

"This was the one point where religion touched most Catholics, where they communicated not only with God but with their fellow believers and their own past; the framework in which they were accustomed to think of all things supernatural; the link in memory with exposure to spiritual things, with earlier aspirations . . . So the shock of adjustment was greatest when the Mass was tampered with. Any new thing here posed the whole problem of change in its most poignant form."¹

Even in the bastions of the liturgical movement such as St. John's Abbey, the tradition of the Gregorian and polyphonic musical tradition have disappeared. In Catholic colleges, heretofore the chief preservers of the classical tradition, there has been massive defection from courses in classical languages and culture.

A feature of recent Catholicism has been the secularization of Catholic colleges and universities. We shall take Notre Dame as an example. It is neither the oldest nor the largest of Catholic universities, but it is the most famous.

By 1960 most Catholic colleges and universities were intellectual backwaters and Notre Dame was certainly an example of that. We can certainly say that there was little of a tradition of Christian humanism at a place like Notre Dame. It was more like a religious concentration camp. Religion was imparted and judged by means of externals. There were 7 a.m. mass checks and 11 p.m. bed checks. Priests patrolled the life of the students. Catholicism at Notre Dame meant docility, authority, and discipline. The primary aim of Christian education at Notre Dame was indoctrination - instilling unquestioning faith, not stimulating thought. Books on the index were locked behind a grille in the library and could only be read with the written permission of the President. The mention of academic excellence implied an attack on Catholic education - an attack on the bureaucratic, clerical, canonical, ceremonial, trappings

which made a school identifiably Catholic. The theology department was the worst department at Notre Dame. There was no theology major because no one would have taken it. The priests applied boot-camp instruction methods to the teaching of courses. At the old Notre Dame religiosity was measured by external manifestations of piety. Daily communion charts were displayed in each residence hall chapel. The entire student body came to the Grotto to say the Rosary. Beginning in the early 1960's there was an attempt to create a new aura of academic excellence at Notre Dame. To many this meant a lessening of the Christian presence. One senior reflected the opinion of many when he wrote, "The idea of a Catholic university just doesn't apply anymore - the purpose of this place should be the purpose of any university." In December 1965 Ralph Martin a '64 graduate who had won a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship to study philosophy at Princeton wrote President Hesburgh that Notre Dame had grown "farther and farther" away from Christianity. He blamed those who were "thriving on the new Notre Dame, on academic excellence . . . on the university part of - Christian university." He complained that virtually none of his courses had anything to do with Christianity - not even his theology and philosophy courses. He concluded,

"In the not too distant future Notre Dame will no longer be a Christian university in any other way than Yale or Harvard are Christian universities."

Martin won the support of many students and young clergy.

In the spring of 1967 the Holy Cross Priests decided to adopt a predominantly lay board and terminate their control of Notre Dame. This was treated as a major development in the national press. NBC and CBS had major TV news stories from South Bend. Hesburgh was featured in newsmagazines in major articles about his changing with the times.

A more radical example of Catholic secularization is that of Webster College in Missouri. In 1963 Jacqueline Grennan secularized the college. She terminated the theology requirement, ended the control of the college by the Sisters of Loretto and

made fun of the proliferation of chapels on Church colleges. These steps were regarded in the press and in educational circles as courageous progressive steps.

Protestantism, fragmented as it has been since the Reformation, has always been accustomed to change. Yet it could be said that never before have the changes come so thick and fast as during the 1960's and 1970's. In previous eras, we have usually been able to find a predominant theological trend (orthodoxy, liberalism, neo-orthodoxy). But since ca. 1960 we have seen a series of "fads" in Protestant theology, so that the picture is one of general confusion, at least in academic theology (At the parish level, life often seems to go on as though nothing like this were occurring.) Some of these fads will probably achieve lasting influence; others rise and fall quickly. In general, we could say that the 1960's evoked a new liberalism and a new social gospel movement. This development may be subsumed under the general designation of "secular" theology. Inspired by the thought of Bonhoeffer and others, this was typified by books like Harvey Cox's influential The Secular City, J. A. T. Robinson's Honest to God, Joseph Fletcher's Situation Ethics, and the works of the Death-of-God school. Bonhoeffer had raised the question: How shall we speak of God in a world come of age?" Theology in the strictest and narrowest sense (the doctrine of God) has been the most hotly-debated issue in recent Protestant theology. Discouraged by the strictures of linguistic philosophy, some (like Robinson) have half-seriously suggested that we declare a moratorium on God-talk for a generation. Some, their consciences sensitized by the burning social problems which beset our nation and the world, seem to have abandoned theology for anthropology, and to have concentrated their main or even entire attention upon ethics. Certainly, among college students, the most popular courses in religious studies in the past decade have been courses in ethics.

The "Death of God" theology, which created a sensation briefly beginning about 1965, had roots in 19th century German thought, especially that of Ludwig Feuerbach, who

asserted that the figure of God was a fiction resulting from the wishes of people for such a figure. The phrase "God is dead" seems to have been coined by Nietzsche. The idea that God is merely a name given to the social forces which control men's lives was set forth by Marx, and Freud carried this notion further by describing the God-figure as the projection of the human father onto the cosmos.

The people who were proclaiming that God was dead in the 1960's meant different things by this statement. Some, like Thomas Altizer, seemed to be saying that there actually had been a God but that He had died in the person of Jesus on the cross. Others, like William Hamilton, that there never had been a God and that people were just now discovering that fact. Still others, like Gabriel Vahanian, meant to say that the old concepts of God were no longer meaningful for many people, and that therefore new symbols and forms of God-talk would have to be invented. This latter view won the widest following among theologians. Dietrich Bonhoeffer had raised the question (and also Rudolf Bultmann) in the 1940's, "How shall we speak of God in a world come of age?" The God-is-dead movement in the more literal sense did not gain many adherents among theologians, for most of whom the idea of a non-theistic theology was an absurdity. Theologically, however, the movement did put its finger on a genuine problem, with which theologians have since been grappling: Just how shall we speak of God in a way which is meaningful to people in our time? It is significant that the movement arose in America just as the nation entered a period of great turmoil. The political, social and economic fabric of America, which had seemed sound and secure during the 1950's, was unraveling. The assassination of John Kennedy, the civil rights movement, the riots in the cities, the escalation of the Viet Nam war all contributed to insecurity among our people. What Peter Berger called "the O.K. world" ruled by God suddenly became questionable in the minds of many. The Death-of-God theology was more than a theological innovation; it was a cultural event reflecting the uncertainty of the times.

A prominent feature in theology as the 60's turned into the 70's was the rise of various theologies of liberation: Black Theology (typified by James Cone's Black Theology and Black Power); the ecumenical Feminist theology (here a host of writers could be mentioned, but prominent in the movement have been Catholic women like Mary Daly and Rosemary Radford Ruether); and the chiefly Catholic Latin American Liberation Theology (representative is Gustavo Gutierrez's Theology of Liberation). It seems likely that these will remain influential for some time to come.

Very recently, a conservative reaction has occurred, signaled by the ecumenical Hartford Theses (1975), though these evoked a liberal reply in the form of the so-called Boston Affirmation (1976), written by Cox and others.

On the popular level, Protestant Christianity has experienced another set of Fads: The interest in Eastern religions and various forms of meditation (the mystical tradition within Christianity is usually overlooked); the Jesus People, a diffuse but generally Fundamentalist and revivalistic movement similar to 19th century Evangelicalism (Campus Crusade represents this movement on campuses); Apocalypticism, typified by Hal Lindsey's incredibly popular works; the Charismatic movement (which of course is ecumenical in scope); and various cults like the Unification Church, or "Moonies" as they are popularly called.

What these seem to have in common is the promise of a quick and easy solution to the intellectual dilemmas and the moral problems we face, often by a privatistic or pietistic "dropping out" reminiscent of the counter-culture.

College life, particularly life at church colleges, has not been unaffected by these movements. Strong tensions have often arisen between the academic theologians and official campus ministry on the one hand and student adherents of one or another of these movements on the other.

Meanwhile, the percentage of students enrolled nationally in church colleges has been in steady decline. Obviously this has meant a declining influence upon the life of

the nation.

The church college has also been affected by the significant changes occurring in American education. Chief among these is the movement toward increasing fragmentation, specialization, and vocationalism. Strong forces are pushing the church colleges to give up their unique character. Under financial pressure to maintain enrollment and driven by fears of parochialism, the composition of faculty and student bodies increasingly reflect American pluralism. The question of identity is raised in acute form. There is danger of watering down the tradition of Christian humanism. The proper distinction between the communities of faith and learning threatens to become a separation, in which a minority of students and faculty are "religious" and sharply distinguished from the larger whole. Efforts are needed in this situation to preserve and enhance the tradition of Christian humanism, as the integrating factor in the curriculum and general life of the college.¹

We may then, correctly describe our situation as one of crisis. But crisis also involves opportunity. There is evidence of strong and growing interest in the study of religion on the part of students. Even in non-church colleges, spurred by the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Abington vs. Schempp* (1963) which distinguished worship in public education from study of religion, courses in religious studies are being introduced. Since the 1930's when only 10% of public colleges offered such courses, the figure has risen to an astonishing 90%!² This is heartening to Christian humanists. However, what is needed is not merely courses in religious studies. These are all too often isolated, lacking integration into the general curriculum. An odd professor here and there may "do his own (religious) thing" while all too often religion (in particular

¹ See Manning Patillo and Donald Mackenzie, Report of the Danforth Commission (A Study of 817 Church-related Colleges) The American Council on Education, 1966.

² "Religion in Higher Education", Westminster Dictionary of Church History, ed. J. Brauer, Philadelphia, 1971, p. 703.

the Christian humanist tradition) is ignored by the rest of the faculty.

We shall say more about how this specifically occurs in books and syllabi shortly. At this point, we simply assert that what is needed is more integration of the religious factor into the teaching of various disciplines. There is at present a lamentable lack of inter-disciplinary teaching relating religion to the humanities, and this is even more true regarding the social and natural sciences. The story of the cultural impact of Christianity is not being imparted to the students. Even in church colleges, this is true. And the story of the specific impact of our own schools is not being told.

The Heart of the Problem and a Proposed Solution

The heart of the problem we face is therefore the separation between Christ and culture, Christianity and "secular" life, which is so widespread, and ignorance of the tradition of Christian humanism. In all strata of our population, educated and uneducated, this division is rampant. In higher education, it is manifest in the specialization, compartmentalization, and general lack of integration among disciplines. Even though courses in religious studies are offered in many universities, they are rarely correlated with other disciplines. Where divinity schools are a part of the university they are isolated. The larger the university, the greater the specialization. The small church college like the ones we represent, though threatened themselves by fragmentation, still offer the best hope of the integration of theology and other disciplines, and of inducing appreciation of the tradition of Christian humanism.

A case in point is the segregation of the discipline of history from religious history, or church history. We cited Martin Marty earlier (p. 45) to the effect that to distinguish "secular" historians from "religious" historians reflects a dimension of the "modern schism". This particular dichotomy is of special interest to the four of us who have prepared this proposal, since two of us are "secular historians" and two are "religious historians". We would assert that there is no need for this dichotomy. It is the result of the secularization of higher education and the resulting mind-set which actually constitutes a dogmatic secularist standpoint, and which regards religion generally and Christianity in particular as at best irrelevant to the history of western civilization or as an obstacle to its progress.

The dichotomy is not for the most part due to the lack of literature regarding religious history. It is due to ignorance of the literature or indifference toward or prejudice against it. True, there are some gaps in the literature in English, but there are excellent works in translation as well. We shall confine our survey to recent works.

Literature in English on Religious History

There are several brief surveys of the history of Christianity available in paperback: K.S. Latourette's Christianity Through the Ages (1965), Roland Bainton's Christendom (2 vols., 1964); Stephen Neill's The Christian Society (1952), Martin Marty's Short History of Christianity (1959), and Philip Hughes' Popular History of the Catholic Church. Larger works include Latourette's one-volume History of Christianity (1953) and his 7-volume History of the Expansion of Christianity. Williston Walker's History of the Christian Church (written in 1918 but revised by Richardson, Pauck and Handy in 1959) is still widely used in theological seminaries. A general history with excerpts of primary sources is the two-volume work by Handy and Manschreck, A History of Christianity, (1964). The Pelican History of the Church runs to six volumes, each by a different specialist. From the Catholic standpoint Henri Daniel-Rops' History of the Church of Christ encompasses seven volumes, some of which are no longer in print in paperback.

A history of Christianity which examines it in a global context is A. Th. van Leenwen's Christianity in World History (1964). An unusual approach but a helpful one is Franklin Littell's Atlas History of Christianity (1976).

Source books include Fr. Colman Barry's 3-volume Readings in Church History (1965), Bettenson's Documents of the Christian Church (2nd Edn., 1963). An ambitious attempt to give us access to the theological sources is the Library of Christian Classics (26 volumes).

Recent useful reference works include the Westminster Dictionary of Church History (1971) and The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.

In the history of Christian thought, Jaroslav Pelikan has published two volumes of a projected five-volume work. Paul Tillich's History of Christian Thought (1967) and Perspectives on 19th and 20th Century Protestant Theology (1967) are written from his

distinctive point of view. In translation, we have B. Lohse's Short History of Christian Doctrine (1966). Several source-books are available, including Hugh Kerr, ed. Readings in Christian Thought (1966) and Robert Fern's Readings in the History of Christian Thought (1964), which unfortunately stops at about 1800. B.M.G. Reardon has helped fill the latter gap with his Religious Thought in the 19th Century (1966) and his Liberal Protestantism (1966). An interpretive work with numerous short quotations from the sources is James Livingston's Modern Christian Thought (1971).

In Reformation studies, the outstanding names have been Roland Bainton and Wilhelm Pauck, along with such "secular" historians as Harold Grimm and Lewis Spitz. George H. Williams has given us the most thorough treatment of the radical reformation. A good undergraduate teaching tool is Dillenberger and Welch's Protestant Christianity Interpreted Through Its Development (1954). J.H. Nichols' History of Christianity, 1650-1950, is the best-known survey of the modern period. For the last two centuries, we have Latourette's mammoth Christianity in a Revolutionary Age (5 volumes). The late John T. McNeill has been America's foremost historian of Calvinism, and has also given us brief but excellent studies of Modern Christian Movements. E.E.Y. Hales has surveyed the story of The Catholic Church in the Modern World.

We have available a number of excellent works which trace various motifs in the history of Christian thought. Prominent among them are Reinhold Niebuhr's The Nature and Destiny of Man (1941) and Anders Nygren's Agape and Eros (revised edn. 1953).

There are also a host of biographies and auto-biographies of religious figures, far too numerous to list. To cite just a few examples: Albert Schweitzer's Out of My Life and Thought, Paul Tillich's On the Boundary, and Nicholas Berdyaev's Dream and Reality.

It is probably safe to say that religious historians in America have been chiefly concerned with the history of the American church.¹ Franklin Littell complains in his From

¹For a survey of the history of the discipline of Church history in this country, see G.H. Williams, "Church History" in A.S. Nash, Protestant Thought in the 20th Century, New York, MacMillan, 1956, pp. 145-178.

State Church to Pluralism that Europeans commonly make the mistake of treating American church history as a footnote to that of Europe, when in fact the Church's development here has been very different.

The first chair of American church history was established at Chicago in 1927, and was filled with distinction by William Warren Sweet. His Story of Religion in America (1930) was a pioneering work. H. R. Niebuhr contributed two classic works: The Social Sources of Denominationalism (1929) and The Kingdom of God in America (1930). More recently, Jerald Brauer's Protestantism in America, John Tracy Ellis' American Catholicism, and Winthrop Hudson's American Protestantism have been widely read. The latter has also contributed an excellent survey, Religion in America (1965), as has Clifton Olmstead, History of Religion in the United States (1960). Martin Marty won a national book award in 1970 with The Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America. Andrew Greeley offers an interpretive history in The Catholic Experience (1967).

However, the most imposing work of recent years has been Sidney Ahlstrom's A Religious History of the American People, massive in scope (1096 pp.) and brilliantly conceived, also a winner of the National Book Award in 1973.

Helpful studies of the Christian ecumenical movement include Ruth Rouse and S. Neill, A History of the Ecumenical Movement, Robert MacAfee Brown's The Ecumenical Revolution, and George Tavard's Two Centuries of Ecumenism.

Literature in English on the Relationship Between Christianity and Culture

There are certain old and great main themes of the Christian social philosophy. We are interested in how these themes have become a part of and have shaped western civilization. We are also interested in applying this ethos to the problems of our own time - an age of Limitation.

A classic work, published in 1923, which traces the history of Christian social philosophy, is Ernst Troeltsch's massive The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches.

Troeltsch was a leading German Liberal Theologian, and his work has been enormously influential. He found certain ethical principles at work in the history of Christianity: personal relationships open to everyone; the notion that conditions of authority should be used for mutual service; emancipation of the individual within his appointed sphere; the humanization of work relationships; confidence in the spirit of mutual agreement, loyalty and reverence in the economic sphere.

The early church was a communistic organization inspired by an organic view of itself (cf. the Pauline concept of the church as the Body of Christ). This organic metaphor was highly influential when applied later to the whole of society after Constantine and Theodosius. (It is a model which is still revered in some circles, Christian and non-Christian). It was most perfectly embodied in medieval society, the corpus Christianum, or Christendom; church and state combined to civilize northern and western Europe. Monasticism, originally a protest movement against the growing worldliness of the church, was harnessed by the Christian society to carry out the tasks both of evangelizing and educating the peoples of Europe (and later of other parts of the world). The Benedictine rule placed great stress on work (primarily agricultural in the agrarian society of the time - it has been said that it was the monks who elevated the status of manual labor, formerly performed by slaves, to a place of dignity worthy of free people). It also stressed scholarly work, and education.

Troeltsch claimed to find two main types or ideals of Christian society, which have since existed in some tension within Christendom. (American scholars have recognized the applicability of this scheme to European Christianity, but have generally not found it applicable here). Each contributed certain values and emphases to social philosophy. The church-type, embodied in medieval Christendom and in the post-Reformation state churches and based upon notions of class, family, and guild, stressed the organic nature of society and the value of fellowship achieved through reverence for authority. The sect-

type, represented by ascetic Protestantism, emphasized the values of freedom of the individual, glorification of work for its own sake, and diligence in one's vocation.

Another classical Protestant work in the field is H. Richard Niebuhr's book Christ and Culture, first published in 1951. Niebuhr, a leading Neo-Orthodox theologian, began by defining his terms and explaining why the relationship has been problematic, and then proceeded to describe five types of relationship discernible within the Christian tradition, citing historical examples. The types are: Christ Against Culture (Tertullian, Tolstoy); The opposite extreme--The Christ Of Culture (Gnosticism, Abelard, Ritschl); and three intermediate types: Christ Above Culture (Thomas Aquinas); Christ and Culture in Paradox (Paul, Marcion, Luther); and Christ the Transformer of Culture (Augustine, Calvin, F.D. Maurice).

George W. Forell, in the preface to his book of sources entitled Christian Social Teachings (Augsburg, Minneapolis), reduces the types of relationships to three: What he calls respectively the separation pattern (typified in general by the ancient church), the domination pattern (Christendom, from Constantine the Great well into the modern period), and the integration or dialogical pattern, which he regards as the only workable relationship in the modern world.

Martin Marty, in The Modern Schism: Three Paths to the Secular, offers an historical treatment of the divorce of Christianity and culture beginning ca. 1850. He traces the development in three countries: France, England, and the United States, and points out variations in their respective processes of secularization.

We could list numerous studies of secularization. The general attitude of Christian writers until ca. 1960 was that secularization, or the separation of Christianity and the prevailing culture, was a catastrophe. Theologians sought both the causes and the remedy. A few voices took a quite different view as early as the 1940's, notably the German theologians Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Friedrich Gogarten, and Rudolf Bultmann. Bonhoeffer sought to work out a "worldly Christianity".

In 1965, the Harvard Baptist Harvey Cox dropped a bombshell into the discussion in the English-speaking world with his book The Secular City: A Celebration of its Liberties and an Infatuation to its Discipline. (Another of its subtitles was: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective.) Cox acknowledged that he owed much to Bonhoeffer and Gogarten. On the opening page, he stated his thesis: "Secularization, as . . . Gogarten once remarked, is the legitimate consequence of the impact of biblical faith on history". Carefully distinguishing between secularism, "an ideology, a new closed world-view) which he deplored, and the historical process of secularization, Cox took a positive view of the latter. Despite his cavalier dismissal of the church college in a later chapter, his main thesis has much to commend it. The book evoked a lengthy and broad-scale discussion, as the many and varied reactions in The Secular City Debate (ed. Daniel Callahan) show. As James Gustafson pointed out, Cox's ideas had been "in the air" for some years, but "no one has put them all together with such persuasive use of language". "Secular theology" emerged from behind the academic curtain into the public eye. The early 60's were a time when numerous critiques of Christianity and the church were being published, many from within the church, accusing the church of losing touch with the culture, of "irrelevance". Protestant examples include: Peter Berger, The Noise of Solemn Assemblies (Doubleday, 1960); Pierre Berton, The Comfortable Pew; J. A. T. Robinson, Honest to God, and A New Reformation? (1963 and 1965 respectively, both SCM Press); Gibson Winter, The Suburban Captivity of the Churches (Macmillan, 1962). It was also the era of the meteoric but brief rise of the "God Is Dead" theology in Protestantism. Catholic critiques were forestalled briefly by Vatican II; those who were disappointed in its results began writing a few years later.

On the broader cultural scene, it became customary to speak as the 60's wore on of a wide variety of individuals and movements as the "counter-culture". Perhaps the seminal book here was the historian Theodore Roszak's The Making of a Counter-Culture

(Doubleday, 1969). Much of this diffuse movement was anti-religious, or at least anti-organized religion, since it identified organized religion with the prevailing culture. Certain elements of the movement professed to be Christian, even to represent the only true Christianity. Picking up the critique of the churches, movements like the "Jesus people" and the charismatic movement must be regarded as protests against what was seen as secularization within the churches or as assertions that the churches had neglected something essential to Christianity.

Meanwhile, virtually unnoticed, a group of middlewestern Lutherans, after several years of discussion, produced in 1960 a volume entitled Christian Faith and the Liberal Arts (Augsburg, Minneapolis). Disclaiming a specifically Lutheran philosophy of education, and claiming rather to represent "the classical intellectual tradition of the Western church", this book probed deeply and explored the implications of its standpoint for the various academic disciplines. It was a clear statement of basic principles and a strong defense of liberal arts in a Christian context. It offered a history of the role of the liberal arts in Christian higher education, a theological basis for Christian higher education, an explication of the Christian doctrine of man, an examination of the principle of objectivity in teaching, of the role of administration, and a study of the problem of curriculum. Further chapters applied the principles enunciated to the various disciplines. Even earlier, a self-study committee at St. Olaf college published a scholarly volume entitled Integration in the Christian Liberal Arts College (St. Olaf College Press, 1956). The committee's report included a discussion of four types of relationship between Christianity and human culture. It called these the relationships of rejection, immersion, split adaptation, and critical participation respectively. Obviously, it favored the fourth type. It is easy to discern in the discussion of this type the Lutheran doctrine of the "Two Realms", with a more positive assessment of this doctrine than that given by Niebuhr, who found this position too dualistic.

In general, Protestant theology moved away from Neo-Orthodoxy during the 1960's. A revival of Liberalism took place in academic theology, including a new "social gospel" movement, centered now less exclusively upon the question of capital vs. labor (though it did often challenge the capitalistic system). The burning problem of the 60's in America was racism, though this was also viewed in global perspective especially as the Viet Nam war escalated, and the question was related to the distribution of wealth on the national and international levels. These concerns gave rise during the late 60's and early 70's to various theologies of "liberation", which became increasingly ecumenical: Black Theology, Latin American Liberation Theology, Feminist Theology. Many main-line Protestant churches emphasized social concerns, prompting some observers to assert that dissatisfaction with the new social gospel was the cause of the leveling off or decline in membership figures in the main-line denominations and the rapid growth of the "evangelical denominations which were pietistic or other-worldly in their emphases."¹ (There were, on the other hand, signs of a new or renewed social consciousness among these denominations.²) Several studies of the Christian tradition as futurist-oriented or revolutionary appeared, partly inspired by the German Theology of Hope (Jürgen Moltmann, et. al.).³ The Viet Nam war and political scandals gave rise to a re-examination of the role of the United States in world history. A lively debate occurred over the so-called "Civil Religion" in America, sparked by Robert Bellah's article "Civil Religion in America" (first published in a special 1967 issue of Daedalus and later re-printed in book form by Beacon Press.) A Variety of responses appeared in R. Richey and D. Jones, eds., American Civil Religion (Harper, 1974), Bellah's assessment was positive, while others viewed the phenomenon much more negatively.

¹Dean Kelley, Why Conservative Churches are Growing.

²Donald Dayton, Discovering An Evangelical Heritage, Harper, New York, 1976, esp. the prologue and epilogue.

³Examples are Carl Braaten, The Future of God, Harper, New York, 1969; C. Braaten and R. Jenson, The Futurist Option, Newman, New York, 1970; Rosemary Ruether, The Radical Kingdom, Harper, New York, 1970.

Andrew Greeley was one who protested various assumptions and assertions regarding American religion, particularly the assumption that America was becoming increasingly secularized and the negative assessment of civil religion. Priest-sociologist that he is, he protested that these assumptions are not borne out by the empirical evidence. Admitting that there is "A tension between religion and secular life", he asserted that this is nothing new, and that "religion is likely to be around in the foreseeable future".¹

The current situation in religion is fluid, and it is difficult to make assessments with confidence. There is a great variety, both in theology and in religious practice. The problem of the relation of Christianity to culture is still a very live issue.

One of the promising developments on the intellectual scene is a re-examination of the widely-accepted world-view of scientific naturalism which has developed since the Enlightenment. Inspired by the work of philosophers like Michael Polanyi, the aforementioned Theodore Roszak typifies this movement. In 1973, he published Where The Wasteland Ends: Politics and Transcendence in Post-industrial Society (Doubleday, New York), a book "about the religious dimension of political life". His stated purpose is "to discover how . . . the essential religious impulse was exiled from our culture, what effect this has had on the quality of our life and course of our politics, and what part the energies of transcendence must now play in saving urban-industrial society from self-annihilation." (p. xv.) Roszak's religion is a rather vague mysticism. A more specific attempt to apply the Christian humanistic tradition to our current problems is E. F. Schumacher's Small Is Beautiful: Economics as Though People Mattered. (Harper, New York, 1973.)

A controversy has gone on for some time as to whether Christianity as a cultural force has been essentially conservative or reformist, even revolutionary. One of the most stimulating treatments of this question is Rosemary Radford Ruether's The Radical

¹A. Greeley, The Denominational Society, Scott, Foresman & Co. Glenview, Ill., 1972, pp. 154-155.

Kingdom: The Western Experience of Messianic Hope (Harper, New York, 1970). Ms.

Ruether, a Catholic theologian, shows how there have been three different Christian answers to this question, and how these have influenced secular philosophies of history and social change right up to the present. Looking beyond the West, another question has involved the relationship between Christian missions and western colonialism. Anglican bishop Stephen Neill's Colonialism and Christian Missions (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1966) is a balanced historical study which reveals a mixed picture in this relationship.

On the relationship between Christianity and the arts and literature, a number of significant works have recently appeared. Johan B. Hygen's Morality and the Masses (Augsburg, Minneapolis, 1965) deals generally with Christian ethics and the arts. Roger Hazelton has published A Theological Approach to Art (Abingdon, Nashville, 1967), and John W. Dixon Nature and Grace in Art (1964). Sallie TeSelle's Literature and the Christian Life (New Haven, Yale, 1966) is probably the most profound treatment of this subject. G. Tennyson and E. Ericson have edited an excellent collection of readings entitled Religion and Modern Literature (Erdmans, Grand Rapids, 1975), and Finley Eversole an anthology on Christian Faith and the Contemporary Arts (Abingdon, Nashville, 1962). These works are central to our enterprise but they are only a few of the many available.

There are, as we said, certain lacunae in our literature. There is, for example, no comprehensive scholarly history of American Catholicism. There is no usable survey of 20th century Christianity: John Hardon's Christianity in the 20th Century is too much a polemic for traditional Catholicism and presumes too much knowledge to be usable in an undergraduate course for non-Catholics.

But what is needed is not so much more literature as a new approach to the teaching of Christian history. We do need to draw on the literature available to compile an anthology which will be suited to our purposes, with an emphasis upon primary sources. We need to bridge the gap between "secular" and "religious" history. We need to transcend the boundaries of national cultures and to induce students to think in terms of universal

history. We need to emphasize the continuity of the tradition of Christian humanism from ancient times to the present. We are not naive enough to imagine that we can create a new medieval synthesis; our culture is too pluralistic for that. However, we can realistically aim at creating the kind of dialogue between the religious and the secular which can be very fruitful for all concerned. We do not propose to work within the traditional divisions, but rather, to borrow the title of Paul Tillich's autobiographical sketch "on the boundary", where Christianity meets the other aspects of human culture and where theology meets the other disciplines of learning. We aim to relate the complex of phenomena we call Christianity (worship, theology, ethics) to the complex of phenomena we include under culture: patterns of social, economic, and political theory and behavior; the fine arts; literature; the history of ideas. We aim to correlate Christianity with the humanities on our own campuses and to suggest ways and means by which this may be done in other places. Colleges like ours offer the best chance to do inter-disciplinary studies. We expect to get liberal amounts of help and insight from colleagues in other departments. Out of our experience should grow a set of materials and model courses well-suited to bridging the gaps between disciplines and creating renewed understanding of and appreciation for the tradition of Christian humanism.

THE NEH CHRISTIAN HUMANISM PROJECT AT SAINT JOHN'S, COLLEGEVILLE

R.W. Franklin

Saint John's University is located on 2,800 acres of woodland and lakes seventy miles north of Minneapolis. The university was founded in 1857 and today encompasses 1,800 men undergraduates, 150 graduate students, 160 faculty (40% monastic/60% laymen) and 300 monks attached to the largest Benedictine Abbey in the world. From the 1930's Saint John's was one of the centers of the Liturgical Movement for the English-speaking world. It was one of those institutions which through the Liturgical Movement prepared the way for Vatican II among American Roman Catholics and influenced the social thought, worship, and architecture of American Episcopalians and Lutherans as well. It is ironic that just after the Liturgical Movement triumphed in Vatican II the traditional curriculum at Saint John's, which had integrated this movement's values and those of the Benedictine order into humanities courses, was taken apart. In 1967 the Saint John's faculty initiated a total curriculum revision, eliminating a whole sequence of humanities offerings. Humanities courses were removed from their former centrality in the university. Student interest shifted in the direction of vocational preparation. Humanities graduates declined to 16% in 1977.

Through conversations with other upper midwest colleges it became clear that many religiously-affiliated institutions had experienced a parallel separation between religious tradition, scholarship in the field of religion, and humanities teaching. In many colleges this had become manifest in the specialization and general lack of integration among disciplines. Even though courses in religious studies were being offered on campuses, they were rarely correlated with the humanities.

Saint John's began to work closely with three other institutions: St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota; Luther College, Decorah, Iowa; and the College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minnesota. All four institutions are heirs both of a strong religious and a strong humanist tradition. The four colleges share with one another a long-standing habit of showing a positive interest in cultural values. The

schools have all gained a measure of national attention as well—and this in the cultural sphere.

At Saint John's the question of integrating the religious tradition with humanities teaching and the problem of decline in the humanities had been studied by the National Advisory Board and the National Visiting Committee who had made these recommendations by the fall of 1976:

1. That the university pay attention to giving its students a distinctive approach to the world.

2. That the curriculum should be so constructed as to reflect significantly the Benedictine habit of taking long views and emphasizing the merits of diversity.

At a series of meetings held through the fall of 1976 representatives of the four colleges agreed on the following points:

1. That specific humanities curricular changes which grow out of church-relatedness be pursued at each of the four institutions.

2. That specific areas of scholarly investigation be pursued jointly by faculty of the four colleges.

Acting on these resolutions, at the end of 1976 Saint John's applied to the National Endowment for the Humanities for the award of a national consultant to (1) assist the University in designing courses and activities which might integrate religious tradition and humanities teaching more effectively and (2) coordinate planning and implementation of joint courses, activities, and research among the four colleges. A grant of \$3,545 was awarded in April 1977. The visits of the consultant, Dr. Edward A. Lindell, President of Gustavus Adolphus College, extended from February 1977 to December 1977, under the core consultancy, and from February to June 1978, under the extended consultancy.

The initial consultancy centered around using a "Religion and Industrialization" concept as a subject theme of core courses that might allow new exploration in the humanities and at the same time build on the Liturgical Movement traditions at St. John's. (The Liturgical Movement had been a Catholic response to industrialization.)

During the course of the consultancy, however, it became obvious that "Religion and Industrialization," given the state of faculty training and interest at Saint John's and the histories of the other three institutions, was an incomplete concept. What was needed was a more encompassing approach which would allow the participation of a greater number of faculty at Saint John's and a high level of cooperation among the four institutions. There was argument from all quarters that the thrust of the four college enterprise should be broader than that which was originally envisioned. An outline curriculum was developed which would allow the history, present role, and future of "Christian Humanism" to be taught as a topical area in the humanities. Thus the consultancy went from "Religion and Industrialization" to "Christian Humanism," from the consideration of a limited number of highly specific courses to an extensive list of classes and activities having four expressions on four campuses, two Roman Catholic and two Lutheran. Finally, there was a realization that further funding should be sought from the National Endowment for the Humanities to assist development of what was now known as the Four College Christian Humanism Project.

Thus, in December, 1977, Saint John's, Saint Olaf, Luther College, and the College of Saint Catherine, each submitted separate Development Grant applications to NEH. However, there were many similarities. The four applications were collectively titled "Humanism in an Age of Limits: A Christian Perspective." Each college made the following arguments to NEH:

1. There has been a growing awareness in recent years that the conventional liberal arts curriculum has failed in one of its major functions: to introduce students to the ideas that are central to our culture. The aim of this proposal is to develop ways of introducing American students to the religious aspects of that culture. These religious aspects have been neglected. To many, Christianity and humanism stand in contrast as rival concepts. The charge is widely heard that religion has been driven out of American education and intellectual life.

2. The humanities will lose if secular humanism becomes the only humanistic tradition in universities and colleges. Christian Humanism is a key to understanding much of the Western culture of the past. If this key is lost, the understanding of that culture will be made more difficult. We prefer to speak of "Humanism from a Christian Perspective." We want to designate a particular religious tradition, one which has been predominant in the Western world. We also wish to include all the phenomena of that tradition (theology, worship, ethics) as they are empirically observable and as they make an impact upon the wider culture. We concentrate on the words Christian Humanism speaks—using Western cultural forms—on behalf of people—essentially the Christian reverence for human kind and its dignity, its positive appreciation of human

life, individual and collective. We are interested in its words about the potentialities and limits of human kind, the power of the unique rational faculty as well as the limits imposed by animality, free will as well as the determinism of economics.

3. Given the resources of these four institutions in this tradition of Christian Humanism, we expect real integration to result in the emergence of much higher levels of teaching and scholarship in the study of religion and in general humanities. But we must do this work together. Venturing alone we cannot accomplish these goals. We can exert together more leverage on our own faculties than we can separately. We solve the steady-state faculty problem which faces small colleges by providing constant interchange of faculty and students in our activities. By pooling our faculties and resources we can accomplish teaching, research, publication, and cultural goals which we could never pursue alone. Our courses, studies, and activities are made more objective by combining two Lutheran schools with two Roman Catholic institutions, two co-ed colleges with a men's university and a women's college.

In July 1978 Saint John's, Saint Olaf, Luther and Saint Catherine's were informed that the Four College Project had received grants totalling \$250,000 from NEH. Saint John's received \$113,000 for a three-year period.

The first courses and activities began in fall semester 1978. The concentration was on the study of Christian Humanism within the broad context of Western history and theology. At Saint John's the focus of activity was on a large upper division history course (approximately 60 students) called simply "Western Civilization." Similar offerings were made available on the other campuses either in theology or history departments. All the students studied a common syllabus divided into great epochs of Christian Humanism (the age of Gothic, the Reformation, the Age of Industrialization, for example) with careful attention to representative individuals (Augustine, Suger, Erasmus, J.S. Bach, Newman, Bonhoeffer). All read an identical list of texts. Lectures and sources from the first course of the project will be published by Augsburg Press in fall 1981. In addition there was an interchange of professors, and students from all four institutions gathered for a day of activities on four fall Saturdays. At Saint John's the theme of this Saturday "Christian Humanism Festival" was medieval and modern monasticism. At Saint Olaf the theme was the Reformation and activities included music, films, lectures, and musical performances centered about that topic.

The same pattern has prevailed in the January Term and spring semester of 1979, except that the January course considered themes of Christian Humanism in modern literature (Dorothy Sayers, Walker Percy, Willa Cather) and the spring course has focused on the specific traditions of each institution. At Saint John's, for example, we have studied the monastic revival of the nineteenth century in

the context of political revolution, the liturgical movement of the twentieth century in the context of industrialization, and the modern movement in architecture and the development of a new Catholic style of church building. At Saint John's we will be offering courses on Christian Humanism in the Freshman Colloquium writing program (Biblical themes in literature) and in our values analysis program (monasticism as a model for secular economic reconstruction).

If class enrollments can be taken as a measure of success, then the 180 students who have been involved in the project since its inception indicate that students are finding value in this approach. The Christian Humanism festivals have brought 240 students from other institutions to Saint John's. Twenty monks of the Abbey and ten professors from Saint Olaf, Luther, and Saint Catherine's have been lecturers or panelists in the project.

Given the large enrollment of the first courses and the excitement generated by the four college exchanges, a circus atmosphere has been avoided through emphasis upon conservative course content and reading lists. The new offerings attempt a renewal of the liberal arts from a particular perspective tied to the past. The use of tradition not only aids in communicating ideas, but it also serves to illustrate a continually evolving component of this university.

But while wishing to recapture some of the strength and vision of the past, there has been no attempt to return to

the curricular models of the twenties and thirties. The most obvious departure from older tradition in these Christian Humanism courses is close cooperation with three other institutions, two of them Protestant. The reestablishment of the Christian Humanist tradition today cannot be done by one faculty acting within narrowly confessional boundaries. Links to other churches and colleges must be established. Working alone in a single institution does not have the resources to teach comprehensive, first-rate courses on Christian Humanism from the ecumenical perspective which is demanded today.

The value of the Christian Humanism program to Saint John's at the end of its first year may be summarized in three ways:

- (1) As a series of model courses which provide specific guidance for professors throughout the institution in curriculum revision.
- (2) As an aid in overall curricular change.
- (3) As a vehicle of assistance in institutional soul-searching and redefinition of mission.

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